Football Premiership: Newcastle 1 Arsenal 2

Arsenal silence Keegan's guns

David Lacey

THEY were only playing leapfrog: one of the Western Front's more ironic numbers might well be applied to the Premiership this season, especially if the contest goes to the wire.

Newcastle United and Arsenal have been trading places since mid-October. In seven weeks each has been top three times. Given the added involvement of Liverpool and Manchester United, along with Wimbledon's perky presence in the top four, there is every chance of a memorable finish.

It will be surprising, however, if any other team quite captures the heroic undertones of this victory over Newcastle at St James' Park which restored Arsenal to the head of the queue. It was achieved with 10 men after their captain, Tony Adams, had been sent off midway through the first half.

The game bore distant echoes of the 1952 FA Cup final when the early loss of their right-back Wally Barnes forced Arsenal into a similar rearguard action against a Newcastle attack containing Milburn, Mitchell and the Robledo brothers. That afternoon they lost to a goal from George Robledo. Last Saturday Ian Wright's scoring instincts brought Arsenal a famous win.

The tone of their performance was captured in the way Lee Dixon hobbled back for the closing minutes after being caught by a late, studs-up tackle from Beardsley, who was rightly cautioned despite Kevin Keegan's ranting at the officials. By then Arsenal's manager, Arsène Wenger, had used all his substitutes, and his team faced the prospect of having to hold out with nine men.

For Dixon the afternoon was particularly satisfying. He was regularly booed by the Newcastle supporters who remembered the Coca-Cola Cup quarter-final in January when Ginola, having suffered rough treatment from the right-back, was sent off. Dixon's response was to head Arsenal into the lead after 11 minutes.

When Shearer outjumped Hartson 10 minutes later to head the scores level from Ginola's deflected centre, the England striker's seventh goal in as many appearances, a marvellous match was in prospect. In the next instant, however, the afternoon became a classic of a totally different kind.

As Adams pursued Shearer towards the 18-yard line the Newcastle man moved across him, contact was made and Shearer went down. Having decided that Adams, the last defender, had fouled Shearer, Graham Barber sent the Arsenal man off.

The sending-off worked against Newcastle. A week earlier Keegan's team, reduced to 10 men by Batty's dismissal, had presented Chelsea with a human barrier similar to that which they themselves faced now. An eight-man defence is difficult to dismantle at the best of times and well-nigh impossible when it is Arsenal.

Afterwards Keegan complained about his team's lack of imagination "given the talent we had out there", adding darkly that "it wouldn't take many more performances like that for me to start changing players".

Wenger offered a sharp contrast: "It is my responsibility to keep cool, analyse what is going on on the field and take decisions," he said. "There is something special about this team. They have the spirit and camaraderie that comes from playing together for a long time."

Newcastle have now lost twice at home in the league and four times in all. They have won only once in five Premiership fixtures since beating Manchester United 5-0. Les Ferdinand should be back for the game at Nottingham Forest next week, but by then Keegan's team may be out of the leading three.

Gripping stuff . . . Shearer falls under the challenge of Adams which resulted in the Arsenal man's dismissal PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN GILES

Football results

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP: Aston Villa 1, Middlesbrough 0; Blackburn 2, Southampton 1; Derby County 2, Coventry 1; Everton 1, Sunderland 3; Leeds 2, Chelsea 0; Manchester Utd 3, Leicester 1; Newcastle 1, Arsenal 2; Sheffield Wednesday 0, West Ham 0; Wimbledon 1, Nottingham Forest 0. Tottenham Hotspur 0, Liverpool 2; **Leading Positions:** 1, Arsenal (played 15, points 31); 2, Liverpool (15-31); 3, Newcastle (15-30).

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE: First Division: Bolton 2, Barnsley 2; Bradford 1, West Bromwich Albion 1; Grimsby 2, Crystal Palace 1; Norwich 0, Birmingham 1; Oxford 0, Charlton 2; Portsmouth 1, Stoke 0; Port Vale 0, Huddersfield 0; QPR 1, Sheffield Utd 0; Southend 1, Oldham 1; Swindon 3, Reading 1; Tranmere 3, Ipswich 0; Wolves 3, Manchester City 0. **Leading Positions:** 1, Bolton (21-41); 2, Crystal Palace (20-34); 3, Barnsley (19-34).

Second Division: Bournemouth 3, Luton 2; Bristol Rovers 4, Bury 3; Crewe 5, Shrewsbury 1; Notts County 2, Bristol City 1; Peterboro 6, Rotherham 2; Plymouth 0, Burnley 0; Preston 1, Gillingham 0; Stockport 2, Walsall 0; Watford 2, Blackpool 2; Wrexham 1, Wycombe 0; York 0, Chesterfield 0. **Leading Positions:** 1, Millwall (21-40); 2, Brentford (21-37); 3, Bury (20-36).

Third Division: Carlisle 2, Barnet 1; Colchester 7, Lincoln 1; Darlington 3, Northampton 1; Doncaster 2, Cambridge 1; Fulham 2, Brighton 0; Hartlepool 1, Exeter 1; Hereford 1, Chester 2; Hull 1, Wigan 1; Leyton Orient 3, Cardiff 0; Mansfield 2, Scarborough 0; Rochdale 1, Scunthorpe 2; Swansea 2, Torquay Utd 0. **Leading Positions:** 1, Fulham (21-47); 2, Carlisle (21-39); 3, Cambridge Utd (21-39).

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Division: Aberdeen 0, Rangers 3; Celtic 2, Hearts 2; Dundee Utd 1, Dunfermline 1; Hibernians 2, Motherwell 0; Raith 1, Kilmarnock 0. **Leading Positions:** 1, Rangers (13-32); 2, Celtic (13-27); 3, Aberdeen (14-22).

First Division: Clydebank 0, Dundee 0; Falkirk 2, East Fife 1; Partick 0, Morton 0; St Johnston 5, Stirling Albion 0; St Mirren 2, Airdrie 3. **Leading Positions:** 1, St Johnston (16-35); 2, Falkirk (16-20); 3, Airdrie (16-26).

Second Division: Ayr 1, Dumbarton 4; Berwick 0, Brechin 0; Clyde 2, Livingston 0; Hamilton P, Stenhousemuir P; Queen of the South 3, Stranraer 2. **Leading Positions:** 1, Ayr (16-35); 2, Livingston (15-31); Hamilton (14-28).

Division Three: Alloa 2, Queens Park 1; Arbroath 1, Inverness 4; Cowdenbeath P, Forfar P; Montrose 2, Albion 1; Ross County 1, East Stirling 1.
Leading Positions: 1, Inverness (16-29); 2, Montrose (16-29); 3, Ross County (16-28).

Cryptic crossword by Rufus

Across

9 This may point out a direction — but not East (9)
10 There's nothing sour in this scent (5)
11 Listen to a number cheer (7)
12 Vessel almost departed with the wrong load (7)
13 A slight touch of the devil (4)
14 Doesn't it have a service charge? (4,6)
16 Organ bright with flowers (7)
17 A house on mains supply (7)
19 On the rocks, shattered and destitute (5-5)
22 The chances of racing (4)
24 No answer to FA rules being broken (7)
25 Part of Russia the Yankees marched through (7)
26 Shade giving cover for troops (5)
27 There's a lot to be said for having it (9)

Down

1 Discharge for sudden refusal to work (9,6)
2 Loans saved, can make a move (8)
3 A charming French accent (5)
4 Fish and insects turn a drab colour (8)
5 You may put your foot in it, in a manner of speaking (6)
6 Cynthia takes a liking to alcohol (9)
7 Cash or credit? (6)
8 Pauses for inspiration (9,6)
15 An unfair comparison (4,2,3)
17 Right to succeed (4,4)
18 Poor ending it might make (8)
20 Holiday when one is not at one's best (3,3)
21 Outstanding work of art (6)
23 Humphrey's artless look to us appears phoney (5)

Last week's solution

BUCKLER SANDPIT
U I A A E O U E
TAROT DECATHLON
T C H I U I L D
SUPERSTRUCTURE
B M R H I I P R
LASH STANDOFF
A T M R Y G N O
CHARADES NERO
K N Y I T F S T
GETDOWNTOBRASS
U I R D O O O E
ABASEMENT TACKS
R T S E O H K P
DRESSER ODYSSEY

Tennis Davis Cup final

French have last word

Stephen Bierley in Malmö

THERE are places in this country where the sun never sets, and there were times here last Sunday when it seemed the Davis Cup final would never end. But what a supremely thrilling finish it ultimately was, and the closest yet.

Eventually, after more than nine hours' play, it fell to Arnaud Boetsch to capture France's eighth victory in a tournament older than the Tour de France. Both he and Cedric Pioline, also involved in a five-set epic, must have felt as if they had raced every stage of that gruelling race.

No final since the Davis Cup's inception in 1900 had previously been decided in the fifth set of the final rubber. Boetsch survived three match points before finally beating Nicklas Kulti 7-6, 2-6, 4-6, 7-6, 10-8, the Swede barely able to stand at the close because of cramp.

France, after winning the doubles on Saturday, had begun the day 2-1 ahead, saw Pioline serve for the cup and fail, and then watched in ever-growing horror as Boetsch appeared to be slipping to defeat against an inspired Kulti. But the French No 2 held his nerve.

So for Stefan Edberg, who was unable to play his return singles after twisting his ankle on the opening day, the retirement party was tinged with sorrow. He wrapped a comforting arm around an obviously distressed Kulti. Edberg could have fought no braver fight, and true to himself he brought the evening to a close with a gracious speech and winning smile.

It was a day of withering physical and emotional fluctuations. This was the tennis equivalent of snakes and ladders. It was impossible, in the end, even to hazard a guess as to who might win either match, but poor Kulti will doubtless feel that he should have brought Sweden their sixth win in 21 years.

The opening match between Pioline and the world No 9 Thomas Enqvist had been charged with almost unbearable tensions, swooping first in the Frenchman's favour, veering back violently to the Swede, ending in a final set of high drama and giving victory nearly 4½ hours after they had begun to Enqvist 3-6, 6-7, 6-4, 6-4, 9-7.

There was barely time for anybody to recover their breath before Boetsch and Kulti came on court for their marathon contest. They had met twice before, the Frenchman winning both. But Kulti then began to play like a man inspired.

The exuberant French fans were hushed, sensing that the day's biggest swing of fortune was about to go against them. Boetsch's eyes appeared to sink further and further into his head as he lost the second and third sets. Yannick Noah, France's non-playing captain, beseeched his No 2 to hang in. This he did to give France a 3-2 victory.

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The Washington Post · Le Monde

Farmers hold Greece to ransom

Helena Smith

THE farmers manning the barricade at the Artemisian tunnel on the Corinth-Tripoli highway, are not happy. The first night they erected the roadblock, 190km outside Athens, they got drunk. Their wives brought them pots of steaming stew and, they admit, they did have fun.

"Controlling the road does make you feel very powerful," says Giorgos Pinatsis of his role in what has become one of the biggest revolts to hit modern Greece.

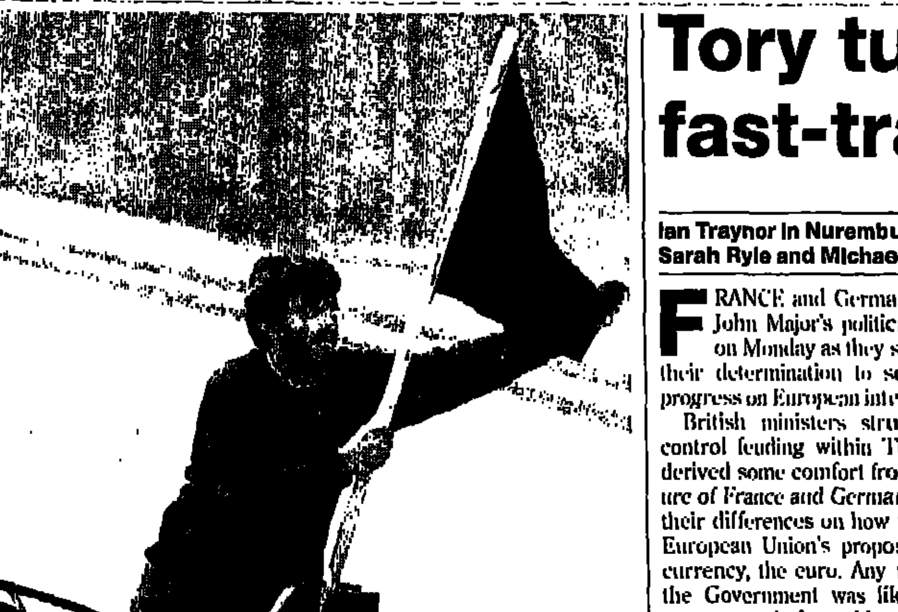
"But many of us here believe that the only power you have in life is to vote and in our case it has got us nowhere," he sighs. "We started this blockade because the government's budget is criminal. It wants to extinguish us farmers in the name of Maastricht."

This week only a few farmers were actually working the fields. The rest were maintaining roadblocks round the country in protest against the ruling socialists' tough fiscal policies, aimed at getting Greece's budget into a condition that might meet the European Union's criteria for a single currency.

As the revolutionary spirit gains force, growing numbers have got into their tractors to join the blockade that has both split and paralysed the country for the past fortnight. Around 2,000 trucks were said to be stranded on motorways that have gone eerily quiet, or at roadblocks around Greece's borders.

The men on the Corinth-Tripoli highway go into paroxysms of fury at the very mention of the prime minister, Costas Simitis — "the man who has sold Greece to the EU". And, mindful of the recent success of their counterparts in France, they say they are here to stay.

"Our tractors are our tanks," roars Yannis Eufstathiou. "If Simitis were to meet us now we would spit on him . . . we are the ones who voted for him and he's not met any of our demands."



Black flag of protest . . . A farmer uses his tractor to create a motorway blockade near Athens PHOTOGRAPH: GEORGE KARACHALIS

Not since the mid-1980s, when economic austerity was first introduced to the EU's poorest member, has there been such opposition. The farmers' revolt has been all the more painful coming from a sector that has traditionally supported the governing Pasok socialists.

The farmers have vowed to stay put until Christmas or beyond unless the government gives in. So far, however, they have carefully avoided blocking the rich agricultural area around Thebes, north of the capital, or stopping produce arriving from the island of Crete. "The farmers are being tactically smart. They are not cutting off the capital because they don't want public opinion against them," said political commentator John Loulis.

The government announced new taxes and the abolition of tax breaks last month along with its 1997 budget, to bring the economy in line with Greece's EU partners. The measures have sparked a stream of marches through Athens. Teachers, students, construction workers and pensioners have marched. Even Greek diplomats are refusing to work after losing tax breaks.

Tory turmoil over fast-track Europe

Ian Traynor in Nuremburg, Sarah Ryle and Michael White

FRANCE and Germany fuelled John Major's political turmoil on Monday as they spelled out their determination to seek faster progress on European integration.

British ministers struggling to control feuding within Tory ranks derived some comfort from the failure of France and Germany to bury their differences on how to run the European Union's proposed single currency, the euro. Any respite for the Government was likely to be temporary before this weekend's European Union summit in Dublin.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Jacques Chirac announced after their bilateral summit in Nuremburg that their finance officials would continue working towards a deal on the contentious "stability pact" designed to buttress the euro, with tight rules for economic management — and fines for delinquent states.

In a policy initiative that will aggravate tension over Europe within the Tory ranks, both leaders also issued a 12-page letter to the Dublin summit, calling for greater European integration on a broad sweep of home affairs, the hyper-sensitive issue of immigration, plus foreign and defence policy-making.

At Westminster, senior ministers insisted that "things are calming down" within the Conservative ranks after Mr Major's authoritative restatement on Sunday of the Cabinet's "wait and see" policy on the euro.

But Tory Eurosceptics promised to pursue their campaign for an outright No to the euro. The flamboyant populist MP Teresa Gorman announced she would keep the feud going by introducing a bill in January to hold a referendum on total British withdrawal from Europe.

The issues were due to be aired this week in a two-day Commons debate before the Dublin summit.

Sceptics in London believe that tensions will mount in the months ahead as EU states struggle to qualify to join the euro currency club. And, in what was construed as a calculated snub directed at the German finance minister, Theo Waigel, and the powerful German central banker, Hans Tietmeyer, Mr Chirac insisted that the independence of the future European central bank had to be balanced by a political counterweight.

To German bankers that is a euphemism for laxity. And in parallel to the summit, Mr Waigel and his French counterpart, Jean Arthuis, failed to settle the fundamental differences over the role of the central banks, macro-economic policy-making under the single currency regime, and the rules governing fiscal behaviour after the currency is launched in 1999.

EU finance ministers were to meet in Dublin on Thursday, on the eve of the EU summit, in an attempt to cobble together a deal on the terms for joining the single currency. Mr Kohl said France and Germany hoped to table a joint proposal on the stability pact.

The war of words on the fringes of the summit highlighted the worsening friction between the two key European powers, despite the attempt to put on a show of unity.

While the French prime minister, Alain Juppé, came close to describing Bundesbank-style control of monetary policy as undemocratic, the Bavarian prime minister, Edmund Stoiber, urged Germany to walk away from the single currency unless the rest of Europe agreed to Bonn's insistence on a rigorous stability pact.

Major's bad week, page 8

Generals call for an end to nuclear weapons

David Fairhall

FIELD MARSHAL Lord Carver, a "Desert Rat" who rose to Britain's chief of defence staff, last week joined more than 60 generals and admirals worldwide calling for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Those declaring that nuclear weapons represent "a clear and present danger to the very existence of humanity" include two former Nato supreme commanders, John Galvin and Bernard Rogers, Russia's General Alexander Lebed, President Yeltsin's ex-security adviser, and the US air force general Charles Horner. These are fighting men who evidently share Field Marshal Carver's belief that having a nuclear deterrent is riskier than not having one.

Their statement, published in London, proposes three immediate moves to take advantage of the ending of the cold war: further large cuts in nuclear stockpiles, taking those that remain gradually off alert, and declaring that the world must work towards their total elimination.

"The exact circumstances and conditions that will make it possible to proceed finally to abolition cannot now be foreseen or prescribed," the statement continues. But in the generals' view one obvious prerequisite is a worldwide system of inspection to ensure that rogue states or terrorists cannot acquire such weapons. With this would go "an agreed procedure for forcible international intervention" to destroy illicit weapons.

The signatories say the end of the cold war favours disarmament. The UN's approval of a comprehensive test ban treaty earlier this year is one of several steps towards a nuclear-free world. But Russia and the US keeping warheads in storage after destroying their means of delivery creates a "reversible nuclear potential". The nuclear threats most commonly postulated to justify maintaining nuclear armaments "are not susceptible to deterrence or are simply not credible".

The generals conclude: "The end of the cold war makes it possible. The dangers of proliferation, terrorism and a new nuclear arms race render it necessary."

● The US said this week that Nato would not station nuclear weapons on the territory of new members it plans to admit from central and eastern Europe. "In today's Europe Nato has no intention, no plan and no need to station nuclear weapons on the territory of any new members," the US secretary of state Warren Christopher said at the start of a two-day meeting of Nato foreign ministers in Brussels.

Comment, page 12

Austria	AS30	Malta	50c
Belgium	BF75	Netherlands	G 4.75
Denmark	DK16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	E300
France	FF 13	Saudi Arabia	SR 6.50
Germany	DM 4	Spain	P 300
Greece	DR 400	Sweden	SK 19
Italy	L 3,000	Switzerland	SF 3.30

Why we must resist the call of the wild

PAUL EVANS (The new Crusades, November 24) quotes Kate Rawls with approval in her objection to "the culling of wild animals for conservation ends" and in her view that as individuals they should command the same respect "as any other sort of sentient creature".

In New Zealand, animals introduced into our forests (stoats, weasels, cats) have totally or nearly destroyed many native bird species. Moreover, our indigenous forests are under threat from Australian possums and European deer and goats.

Over millions of years, this isolated land, protected by its surrounding oceans, had developed its own flora and fauna. In less than 200 years, much of this has disappeared, thanks to the destructive impact of animals introduced by European colonists. A hugely expensive effort is required to preserve what remains.

Would your contributor have us "treat with respect" a stoat in the act of eating the eggs of an extremely rare bird? By rare I mean a species in which as few as 20 individuals remain. There is no sentiment in the animal world.

Cuddly kittens, however lovable they appear, can destroy other species. Humans have the sole responsibility of maintaining a balance of nature.
Keith Matthews,
Wellington, New Zealand

PAUL EVANS asks why it is permissible to cull "alien" species to protect indigenous species, and comments that although we treat fellow humans as individuals, we don't think of members of other species as individuals.

A common philosophical justification for treating fellow human beings as individuals worthy of respect is that they have "intrinsic value", a problematic concept which usually contains one or more of the following notions:

❑ Humans have a value which is not due to their instrumental usefulness to satisfying some other need or value;
❑ Humans have a value due to some property they possess in themselves;
❑ The value that humans have is "objective" in some sense or other.

Looking at the three meanings it becomes clear that humans are perfectly suited to be holders of this special individual value, as you need to be a conscious, thinking creature, with desires and reflective ability to meet the conditions.

Extending such a concept of individual value to nature is misguided, as the concept was designed to explain what separates humans from the rest of nature.

Giving members of other species the same consideration as humans would lead to absurd consequences; we couldn't eat (unless some plants and animals were not value holders), we couldn't cure colds, etc, without violating individual members of other species.

Nature is valuable, on that I'm sure most people agree, but trying to claim that this value is of the same type as human value leads to absurdity and confusion, and ultimately undermines and devalues human individual value which it bases itself on.
Tim Morey,
Aomori, Japan

Colonialism in its true colours

I ALWAYS take your news to be credible, interesting and largely impartial. On the subject of Hong Kong and the question of 1997, however, you often present the stance of Governor Chris Patten but seldom, if ever, the views of those who consider him to be the wrong man in the wrong place for the handover to China.

The article by Ian Black (UK appeal on Hong Kong, November 24), while factually correct in substance, gives only the views of the British side.

Your newspaper has on many occasions pointed out the weaknesses of the present Conservative government, more particularly the misadventures of John Major *vis-à-vis* the European Union. What makes you think that this prime minister is likely to be any wiser in his dealings with far-away Hong Kong?

Mr Major appointed his old friend Mr Patten, who has shown no interest in the Far East, and is prepared to breach China's Basic Law, even in areas that had been agreed between the Chinese foreign secretary and Douglas Hurd, the former British foreign secretary. Consequently, to fill a vacuum at the changeover of sovereignty a temporary legislature is to be set up to reinstate a legislature based on the Basic Law of China for Hong Kong.

Blame for this temporary arrangement is now being put on China, when the facts show that the breakdown was caused by Mr Patten. If ever proof was needed that colonialism is unable to protect the interests of the colonised peoples, this case is it.
Elsie Tu,
Kwun Tong, Kowloon, Hong Kong

REGARDING the item "HK minorities in last fight" (November 11), I am appalled and disgusted at the British government's stance not to allow residential rights in Britain for the families of Gurkha servicemen currently serving in Hong Kong. They have been courageous and loyal and have won many awards for their bravery in action.
Phil Barton,
Wellington, New Zealand

Weasel words from Whitehall

I HAVE recently been in communication with Britain's Department of Trade and Industry regarding the sale of Hawk aircraft to Indonesia (Jakarta uses UK armour in repression, October 27). Given the result of this summer's trial of three Ploughshares activists, I asked whether the Government shouldn't rescind the export licence for the planes yet to be delivered. I was told that the British government does not issue export licences for the export of any equipment that they judge likely to be used for internal repression. And the method of making this judgment? As far as I could understand, they made it in this case by asking the Indonesian government! Naturally, they received assurances that Hawk aircraft would not be used for such purposes.

It really makes me wonder about the intelligence of our government. Is the same method perhaps going to be applied in issuing the stricter gun licences mandated by the recent legislation? Will a licence be issued upon receiving an assurance from the applicant that the weapon won't be used for illegal purposes? That would be crazy; yet it appears to be how the government operates in the international arena.
Steve Cassidy,
Tokyo, Japan

THE present spineless appeasement of the dictatorships in Beijing and in Jakarta by leaders such as Clinton, Major, Chrétien, etc, is surely more disgraceful and outrageous than that demonstrated by the West in the face of Fascism in the 1930s, since at that time there was genuine reason to fear Germany. Now the paramount motive is plainly greed. Will Mammon reward us all as the god of paranoia did in the 1940s?
R V MacLeod,
Sirar, BC, Canada

COULD anyone explain to me how the granting of overseas aid to train the Indonesian police and equip their radio stations helps the poor in Indonesia (Indonesia aid "tied to arms sales", November 29)? From its own statement, I believed the task of the overseas aid administration mission would be to provide for "development needs to the poor", or is it just too naïve of us to expect that public money would be spent on aiding access to clean water, food and shelter?
Rae Street,
Littleborough, Lancashire

Aids thrives on inequality

PETER PIOT highlights the fact that HIV is a worldwide concern and that the resources of the world are not evenly distributed to tackle it (Aids, an epidemic in search of a vaccine, December 8).

The debate must, however, be undertaken carefully. The possibility of a medical breakthrough, such as the combination drug therapies now available in the developed countries of the world, may enable the symptoms caused by HIV to be delayed or even reversed. However, the new drug treatments do not add up to a cure. Full information about their effects must be presented fairly and openly so that people can make an informed choice.

The cost of medication puts them out of reach of the majority of the world's population. There are 22 million people with HIV; most cannot have access to these drugs. Their countries experience massive poverty, ill health, poor housing, famine and war. HIV is just another issue on top. Vaccine research would be much more use than drugs which fight particular symptoms.

The World Health Organisation's simplistic slogan for World Aids Day, "One World One Hope", assumes that there is a level playing field across the world in which every person and every country can tackle the problems in an individual, fair and balanced way. But the world is not a fair place, and HIV takes spectacular advantage of this.

We must focus on the inequalities facing people with HIV across the world and, in doing so, we may develop a longer-term response which will help us all.
John Nicholson,
Director, George House Trust,
Manchester

Briefly

THE US, far and away the heaviest defaulter in its dues to the UN, now has the temerity to fly in the face of the Security Council's acceptance of Boutros-Ghali's bid for re-appointment as secretary-general by exercising its veto. Surely the Council's righteous indignation could be voiced by at least one outspoken member, in a single admonition: "Pay up or shut up!"
Rex Keating,
Orcemont, France

IN AN age when materialism and the self seem to dominate it is gratifying to read Martin Kettle (False crusade for new life after death, December 1). While he shows much compassion for Mrs Blood's situation, he is nevertheless not afraid to speak out in support of a good law which asks us, on occasion, to practise self-denial for the greater good.
Mary Ahern,
Geneva, Switzerland

THE theory "give me the first five years of a child's life, because everything that comes afterwards is repetition" (The Fo must go on, December 1) appeared for the first time in the Bible and was employed by the Jesuit schools. There is also a very old Japanese proverb, which says the personality of a three-year-old child lasts till 100 years.
Petr Rada,
Fürth, Germany

ONE Tory MP, Sir Nicholas Scott, who has shown no more than an unfortunate weakness for the bottle, is treated to the full weight of Christian charity towards a fallen comrade, whereas any number of Tory MPs (too many, in fact, to name) who have shown even more unfortunate weakness for other people's generosity are treated to fulsome pledges of support from their party leader and constituency associations.

What are we supposed to think? Or are we assumed to be incapable of thinking at all?
P M W Curtis,
Galanta, Slovakia

IN HIS fascinating piece on Astrid Hadad and her Heavy Nopal Review (The queen of Latin kitsch, November 24), Philip Sweeney describes the nopal as "the quintessentially Mexican cactus whose juice is distilled to make tequila". Who told him that? Not, for sure, the wonderful Astrid, who certainly knows better. The nopal is indeed a Mexican cactus but it has nothing to do with tequila, which is made from a version of the maguey, the agave plant that is not even a cactus, though often wrongly so-called.
John Rettie,
Leyburn, Yorkshire

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The Week

THE UN has authorised the start of the long-delayed oil-for-food deal which allows Iraq to make a limited return to the oil market for the first time since its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

THE WORLD Trade Organisation is trying to prevent a row over global rights for workers souring its showcase conference in Singapore.
Goods and bad, page 24

KOFI ANNAN of Ghana has emerged as the front-runner to succeed the UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, whose bid for a second term was vetoed by the US.

BELGIUM'S socialist deputy prime minister, Elio Di Rupo, has been largely cleared of allegations that he had sex with under-age boys.

PERU'S congress backed an amnesty for retired general Rodolfo Robles, a human rights campaigner. It is expected to quell the confrontation between military and civil authorities.

ARMY mutineers agreed a 15-day truce with the government in the Central African Republic after mediation by African heads of state.

SIBERIAN miners, whose mass protests helped bring Boris Yeltsin to power, went on strike again in an action that threatens the government. They have not been paid for months.

ISRAEL is letting Jews occupy 100 more homes in the West Bank, an aide to the prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, said.

TWENTY-FOUR peasant farmers were massacred in the jungle region of Sucre, northern Colombia.

BABRAK KARMAL, the former Afghan communist leader who personified the Kremlin's ill-fated intervention in Afghanistan, has died aged 67.

THE nationalist New Zealand First leader, Winston Peters, said he would join a coalition with the conservative National Party, ending two months of uncertainty.

REPUBLICANS warned that Anthony Lake, the outgoing national security adviser, faces difficult Senate confirmation hearings as head of the Central Intelligence Agency.
Martin Walker, page 6

FRENCH police have arrested 12 people in connection with the bombing of a Paris commuter train in which four people died. Algerian extremists are assumed to be responsible.
Le Monde, page 13

Protesters parade an effigy of President Milosevic in prison uniform through Belgrade PHOTO: IVAN MILUTINOVIC

Milosevic rejects compromise

Julian Borger in Belgrade

SERBIA'S opposition vowed to prolong and expand its campaign of street protests after the supreme court last weekend rejected its appeals against election-rigging, an apparent sign that President Slobodan Milosevic is not ready to compromise on power sharing.

The Serbian autocrat left the West in little doubt about his contempt for its opinion when he tore up a draft memorandum on press freedoms in front of a US delegation.

Western embassies had been hoping to cajole him into accepting a face-saving compromise, in which he would share a token amount of power by accepting opposition gains in municipal elections last month in the capital, Belgrade, and other cities.

Last Saturday the supreme court, widely regarded as being under Mr Milosevic's direct control, endorsed a sample batch of decisions by lower courts to quash opposition victories in Belgrade. No clear reason was given for the original rulings, and the supreme court supplied no clarifications.

"We can only conclude that the court issued its judgment on political orders," said Vesna Rakic-Vodinelic, a lawyer for Zajedno (Together), the opposition coalition.

The Belgrade election commission confirmed the hardline stance by announcing a victory for the ruling SPS party in Belgrade of about the same magnitude as the win Zajedno thought it had achieved.

The following day tens of thousands of students and Belgrade residents filled the streets for the 20th consecutive day to jeer the supreme court's decision and demand the ratification of the election results.

Zoran Djindjic, one of a triumvirate of Zajedno leaders, said the court ruling would strengthen the protest movement and predicted it would spread to other towns.

The protests have so far been focused in Belgrade and Nis and a handful of other industrial areas. But there were solidarity marches in recent days in Novi Sad and Valjevo which had hitherto been unaffected.

Mr Milosevic dramatically snubbed international public opinion when he met Kati Marton, who runs the US Committee to Protect Journalists. Ms Marton said she had tried to persuade him to sign a memorandum on press rights, arguing it would improve his image. "So I handed him that manifesto which he proceeded to tear up," Ms Marton said.

While Mr Milosevic was meeting Ms Marton, his police — it emerged later — were severely beating a 21-year-old student who had carried an effigy of the president (wearing prison clothes and a ball and chain) as part of the anti-government demonstrations.

Dejan Bulatovic is reported to be in urgent need of medical care for head and chest injuries.

● The independent Belgrade radio station B92 was back on the air last week. It was silenced for two days after reporting the street protests by the Serbian opposition.

The station was closed in an attempt by Mr Milosevic to suppress dissent against his embattled regime. B92's foreign editor, Aleksandar Vasovic, said then that the decision showed that Mr Milosevic was "losing his nerve".

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Terms for Bosnia aid spelt out

Ian Black and David Fairhall

WESTERN powers are to increase pressure on the Bosnian authorities to hand over indicted war criminals and will directly link future aid to meeting pledges made under the Dayton peace accord, it was announced last week.

A plan approved by a two-day peace implementation conference in London, attended by 50 countries, promised more resources for the Hague war crimes tribunal and the International Police Task Force (IPTF).

It also vowed, though without elaboration, to consider "what further measures can be taken to facilitate the delivery of indictees to the tribunal for trial".

But Carl Bildt, the high representative for Bosnia, said police would not have the power to arrest 70 indicted war criminals still at large, although the conference empowered the IPTF to investigate Bosnian policemen.

The Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, complained: "Apart from the fact that all speakers pointed to the need for arresting war criminals, nothing concrete has been agreed."

Malcolm Rifkind, the British Foreign Secretary, said: "Bosnia-Herzegovina's leaders can be in no doubt that the international community's willingness to devote further human and financial resources to their country is dependent on a strengthened commitment to implementation of the peace agreement in all areas.

"It had been assumed we had an automatic requirement to provide economic and military help. These should not be taken for granted. It would be irresponsible for the moment to withdraw that support, but it's not going to go on indefinitely."

There were few specifics to flesh out the message of "conditionality", but the plan called for more progress on the return of refugees, freedom of movement and communication, and on creating common institutions and independent media.

Dispute mars Gulf summit

Kathy Evans in Doha, Qatar

A DISPUTE over a string of tiny islands rich in oil and gas threatened to shatter the façade of unity between the Arab Gulf states on Monday.

The meeting of Gulf leaders, held annually to show regional unity, ended in Doha with a blistering attack by the Qatari foreign minister, Sheikh Hamed bin Jissim, on neighbouring Bahrain.

He accused Bahrain of conducting threatening military exercises, interfering in the emirate's affairs, and trying to take advantage of the dispute between the Qatari emir, Sheikh Hamed bin Khalifa al-Thani, and the father he deposed, Sheikh Khalifa.

The Qatari minister claimed that Bahrain had attempted to force the former emir to sign a pledge to the Bahraini ruler, Sheikh Issa, saying that he would relinquish all claims to the disputed Hawar islands if he returned to power in Qatar.

The disputed islands lie 300 metres off the coast of Qatar and can be reached on foot at low tide. But Bahrain claims that the local fishermen have historically paid allegiance to their ruling sheiks. In 1937, after a series of clashes, Britain awarded the islands to Bahrain.

Billions of dollars could be at stake. The islands lie just north of Qatar's main oilfield. Because of the dispute, the areas around Hawar have not been explored for 25 years, but they are believed to contain oil and gas. If developed, the field could transform Bahrain's future. With its oil reserves dwindling, the state lives largely on Saudi hand-outs.

The Gulf Co-operation Council has failed to resolve the quarrel. Qatar is pursuing its case at the International Court of Justice in the Hague.

The Qatari minister refused to give details of any reconciliation between the emir and his father. Earlier this year, the emir began legal proceedings in eight countries accusing his father of misappropriating state funds.

Tenth Palestinian dies in cell

Shyam Bhatia in Jericho

ANOTHER Palestinian prisoner has died in custody, a day after Amnesty International criticised the Palestinian Authority's human rights record in a report last week. This brings to 10 the number of inmates who have died at the hands of Yasser Arafat's policemen.

Rashid Fityani, aged 22, was shot at close range inside a Jericho prison by a Palestinian policeman. Relatives say he was the victim of an extrajudicial execution.

Fityani had been in detention since late 1994 on suspicion of taking part in the assassination of a local Muslim fundamentalist activist, Ibrahim Yaari.

In the eyes of the Palestinian police Fityani was the lowest of the low because of his alleged links to Israeli intelligence.

Another man, Ibrahim Jalayta, who was arrested with Fityani two years ago, was beaten to death shortly after being taken into custody.

Fityani was never brought to trial and no official charges were levelled against him. Sources close to the police said he was hit by 13 bullets fired from an automatic rifle belonging to a policeman.

Fityani's relatives in the West Bank city of Jericho have rejected the police version that he was shot while trying to escape.

"They executed him; this is cold-blooded murder," a close relative said.

Fityani was buried in Jericho last week amid tight security.

The killing coincides with a clumsy attempt by the Palestinian Authority to repair some of the damage caused by the Amnesty report by inviting journalists and Red Cross representatives to tour a Palestinian prison in Gaza and talk to inmates.

Burmese troops clash with rioters

Nick Cumming-Bruce
in Bangkok

BURMESE troops and riot police chased stone-throwing students through Rangoon on Monday in a vain attempt to contain one of the boldest shows of defiance since the crackdown that brought the military junta to power eight years ago.

The clashes occurred after several hundred students, continuing a week of demonstrations, marched towards the US embassy, holding a picture of the independence hero Aung San Suu Kyi and chanting "give us freedom" and "open the schools". Riot police halted the march and then, backed by troops on personnel carriers, started to pursue students, who responded by throwing stones before dispersing down side streets and alleys.

Residents said on Monday that tension was still high in the capital, where jittery authorities have imposed a range of security measures. Rangoon Institute of Technology and the university, the scene of scuffles and stone-throwing last Saturday, remained closed.

The junta reportedly shut boys' high schools on Monday and sealed off roads. However, students show no sign of relenting. "The situation is fluid, it's more unstable than it has been since [the junta] took power," a diplomat in Rangoon remarked.

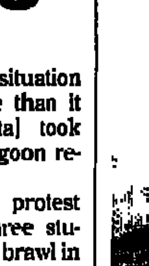
The students, whose protest began after police beat three students involved in a tea-shop brawl in October, have steered clear of broader political issues.

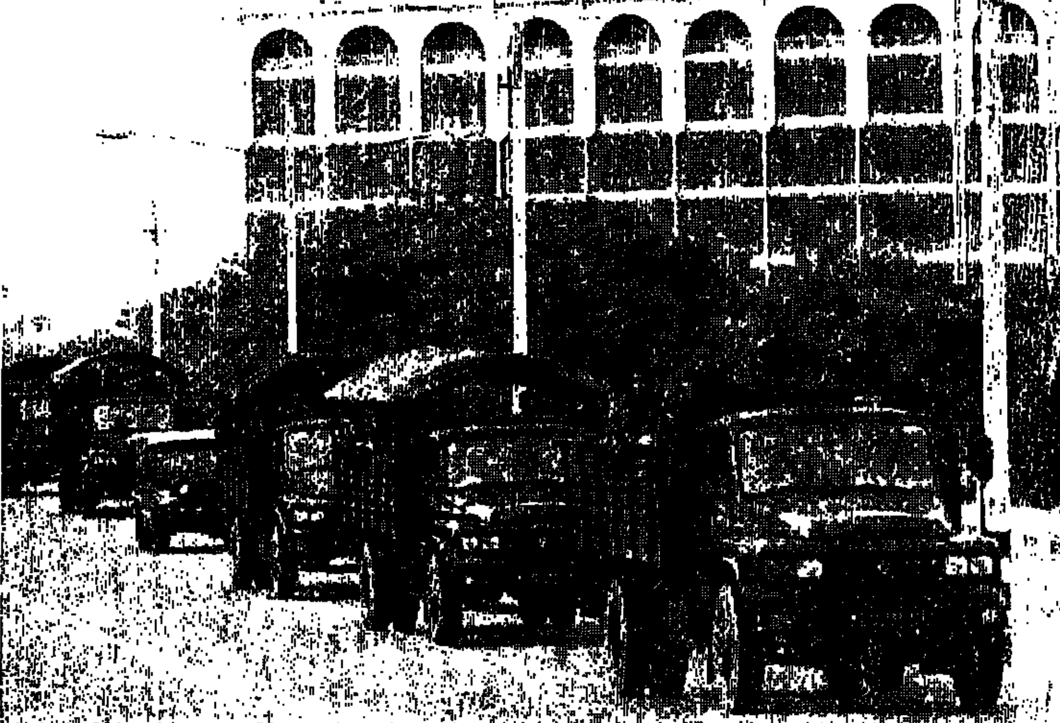
But the junta has made it clear it believes it is dealing with a political challenge incited by Ms Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy. It has reportedly warned her against leaving her house.

"We have evidence that not only some NLD members but also [exiled student militants] and elements of the Burma Communist Party are deeply involved in this unrest," a military intelligence official said.

Ms Suu Kyi repudiated the charge as "absolutely ridiculous", adding that authorities "should be trying to deal with their problems instead of trying to find someone to blame".

The junta has by its own standards acted leniently towards the students, detaining some 800 after a demonstration last week and several hundred at the weekend but releasing most of them within hours. But the use of troops and police to close campuses 10 months into the academic year appears to have increased student grievances.





Burmese soldiers and riot police patrol Rangoon last weekend PHOTOGRAPH: APICHART WEERAWONG

Ms Suu Kyi last week appealed for international support for the NLD. Speaking by telephone to the former Commonwealth secretary-general, Sir Shridath Ramphal, in Cape Town, she said: "I would like the world to know that the repression in Burma is getting worse."

She added: "Members of our party are subjected to very, very severe persecution all the time. People are evicted from their homes, people have been threatened with loss of jobs, and our elected members of parliament are forced to resign."

The size and boldness of the student protest appear to have surprised the Rangoon authorities, who need no reminder that student protest ignited democracy demonstrations in 1988. "The tension is based on a situation which is unresolved," one diplomat said, referring to student grievances. "You can't discount the possibility of things flaring up again."

The deputy head of military intelligence, Colonel Kyaw Win, said that the students were incited by political elements linked to the democracy movement.

Child rebels cut off east Zairean town

Christian Jennings in Beni

ZAIREAN rebels using Mai-Mai tribal witchcraft fighters, many of them children, have cut off government troops in the northeastern town of Bunia, aid workers said on Monday.

"The Banyamulenge have surrounded Bunia with Mai-Mai," said Mustafa Lufungula, local operations head of the Zaire Red Cross in Beni, 140km from Bunia.

The Banyamulenge are ethnic Tutsis who became the catalyst for the rebel insurgency against the Zairean government when they were threatened with expulsion from Zaire in October.

"The Banyamulenge are using them because of their supposed magic powers. They are taking advantage of them," he added.

The Mai-Mai believe bullets turn into water if their chief has inoculated the target with a secret vaccine. The army has children as young as 10 years old and their main motive for fighting seems to be loot.

Rebels say Bunia, defended by up to 5,000 Zairean troops, is their next target on the northern front as they extend the area they have carved out of eastern Zaire in the past few weeks. Residents said the front was 20km from Bunia.

The rebels hold a strip of territory 520km long, controlling Zaire's border with Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. They say their ultimate aim is to overthrow the central government in Kinshasa, already weakened by the prolonged absence of President Mobutu Sese Seko with cancer in Europe.

Zairean troops are not helping their cause by raping and pillaging as they flee. Roman Catholic church officials disclosed on Monday how Zairean paratroopers and presidential guards fled advancing rebels after raping elderly nuns and torturing a seminarian at the mission of Our Lady of Peace and a nearby covent about 350km north of the city of Goma.

The Zairean rebels have also been given a helping hand by the Ugandan army, which handed over the Zairean border town of Kasindi after seizing it last month from Ugandan rebels allegedly backed by Zaire.

"We arrived on Sunday and there was nobody here but the Ugandans," said one rebel officer at Kasindi.

The level of Ugandan support for the Zairean rebels is not clear. Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni's Hima group has ethnic links with the Tutsi Banyamulenge in the Zairean rebel alliance.

Thousands of refugees — their exact number is disputed — have been scattered throughout eastern Zaire while over half a million Hutu refugees from the 1994 exodus remain in Tanzania.

● The United Nations said 12 people had been killed in Rwanda since the mass return of Hutus from Zaire last month. The victims included four refugees and four genocide survivors, who were apparently killed in an attempt to eliminate witnesses to the crimes of 1994. — *Reuter*

France squeezed out, page 7

5,000 held as state chief's golden career ends in jail

Suzanne Goldenberg
in New Delhi

THOUSANDS of people were detained by Indian police last weekend when the spiritual children of J Jayalalitha, the former chief minister of the southern state Tamil Nadu, went on a statewide tantrum to protest against her imprisonment on corruption charges.

Ms Jayalalitha, a former film star whose puffy visage once stared down on her subjects from thousands of billboards in a bizarre personality cult, was arrested during her morning prayers last Saturday on charges of allowing bureaucrats to siphon off 85 million rupees ($2.7 million) which was meant to be spent installing 45,000 colour television sets in villages in the state.

She bedded down on the floor of her cell with the regulation two sheets and a pillow during her first night in Madras central jail and supped on rice gruel.

However, prison authorities, worried by the violent protests, upgraded her last Sunday to more luxurious accommodation, entitling her to a mattress, hot water, newspapers, solid food and mineral water.

Ms Jayalalitha faces charges in six other cases ranging from alleged corruption to tax evasion and misuse of foreign exchange.

Although voters threw out Ms Jayalalitha's All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (AIADMK) party in elections in May, she still rules some hearts in Tamil Nadu. A fanatical supporter died in hospital last Sunday after setting himself alight, and loyalists set fire to three buses and attacked 75 others in her northern stronghold of Arcot district. More than 5,000 people were detained across the state.

Ms Jayalalitha's regime began to crumble last year after she lavished millions of rupees on the wedding of her foster son, a relative of her close companion, Sasikala Natrajan, who has spent the past six months in the same jail on charges of violating foreign exchange controls. Even the most conservative estimates put the cost of the wedding at $3.3 million, an unimaginable extravagance for a chief minister who claimed to draw a token monthly salary of one rupee.

Since her electoral humiliation, more than half of Ms Jayalalitha's cabinet ministers have been charged with corruption and other crimes. After suffering her authoritarian rule in silence for five years, some members of her AIADMK party have broken away to form a rebel wing.

She told reporters that the charges against her were fabricated, adding: "This is nothing but political victimisation."

Police, assisted by appraisers sent to evaluate Ms Jayalalitha's treasure trove of jewellery, searched her mansion in Madras and the other properties she accumulated during her five-year reign. On Monday a police lawyer said that officers seized half a tonne of silver and about 40kg of gold.

Ms Jayalalitha is accused of overruling finance officials who said the 14,500 rupee price tag on each television set was artificially inflated, and police say they have statements on kickbacks from several television companies. The televisions were meant for educational purposes.

But despite her present travails, she remains in august company. The former Indian communications minister, Sukh Ram, has spent time in jail on corruption charges, and the former prime minister, P V Narasimha Rao, is also on trial for corruption.

Sacked ANC minister may form party

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

NELSON Mandela's African National Congress is facing the first challenge to its unity with the announcement by a sacked junior minister, Bantu Holomisa, that he is considering forming a rival political party.

Gen Holomisa, a former homeland leader, was one of the most popular figures in the ANC before his expulsion. His allies include President Mandela's ex-wife, Winnie.

Gen Holomisa announced on Monday that he was abandoning a Supreme Court action aimed at forcing the ANC to reinstate him as a member and would instead organise a national conference to consider the formation of a new party.

The general was expelled, after being fired by Mr Mandela as deputy minister of the environment and tourism, for accusing a cabinet minister, Stella Sigcau, of taking a bribe from the controversial casino boss Sol Kerzner.

He also accused the ANC of accepting money from Mr Kerzner, a charge that was eventually conceded.

The former Transkei leader said that he had made the decision after a meeting with Mr Mandela last week, at which the president allegedly warned him that if he gained re-admission to the ANC he would be "crushed".

Gen Holomisa said that in these circumstances there would be no point in re-joining. He had been under pressure for some time to take the lead in forming a new party and would organise a consultative conference on the issue in the new year.

Kidnappers do big business in Chechenia

David Hearst in Urus Martan

THE news comes in trickles, but everyone hears. Five Russians were abducted in Grozny last week. The roads are cleared of people thumbing lifts, and the atmosphere is edgy.

Abductions are big business in post-war Chechenia, where cash is scarce and the only job to be had is illegally refining crude oil. All you need is a four-wheel drive, a gun, a false security pass, and a beard.

The armed men who invited Ilyas, the son of a local official, to step into their car were polite: "They did not use rude language. They told me they were taking me to the local military headquarters. There were 10 of them and I could have fought them, but there was my family to consider. They put a black stocking over my head and I understood immediately that money would loom large."

As in most transactions in the Caucasus, it is up to the buyer to name his price: "They told me I would have to name the figure. The idea is that they keep you for days, for months, until you are so fed up you are ready to pay everything."

Ilyas was driven into a mountain village and locked in a basement. But as he entered, he noticed the wall abutted a garden. He tunnelled his way out and ran off the next day.

Surrounded by his cousins, a Kalashnikov lying on the sofa behind and a hunting rifle by his feet, Ilyas is well and truly at home. He says his abductors are too scared to come back. And he has taken precautions. "It is nothing to do with politics," Ilyas says. "These people are just crooks."

Villagers in neighbouring Goyki have laid ambushes for rival gangs of abductors. Law and order was always a relative concept in a culture where blood feuds regulate affairs. But it is different today.

Fery Aalame, of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) mission in Grozny, says nine of his workers have been kidnapped this year, in six separate incidents.

The ICRC runs the largest aid programme in Chechenia, and Mr Aalame can call on any field commander, or even President Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, for help. The ICRC is running the hospitals, feeding 20,000 children, getting water supplies going, and battling against 500 mains sewage blockages in Grozny alone.

Kidnapping is universally condemned by the former resistance fighters. Ali Hajiev Shankan, the military governor of Novi Atagi, says: "It's a small criminal element which we are dealing with." He expresses gratitude for the Red Cross hospital.

But in Urus Martan, it is as difficult to draw the line between the criminal and the political as it is to say which street supported which side.

The town of 47,000 is largely untouched — an oddity in a country where every sheet-metal fence or brick wall is pock-marked with shrapnel scars. Loyalism or an absence of overt hostility to the Russian military occupation brought concrete dividends. But with the Russians gone, a cold wind of internecine vengeance is blowing again.

Trade clash looms on maize

Stephen Bates in Brussels

THE United States denied last week that it had begun sending genetically modified maize to Europe in defiance of European Union regulations.

The denial came after the European Commission in Brussels warned that all US grain shipments might be blocked unless EU member states can be assured that they do not contain genetically modified maize.

The Commission has warned member states it is up to them to regulate imports of US maize, and has written to member governments in the light of suggestions that cargoes containing the product have already been unloaded in Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and Belgium.

Testing shipments would be akin to searching for a needle in a haystack, since the genetically modified maize has not been separated from the rest of the crop and forms less than 1 per cent of the overall maize harvest. It cannot be distinguished from the non-modified variety without scientific testing.

A high profile embargo on trade worth $500 million a year to the US would come close to precipitating a trade war, and would be one of the most serious challenges yet to the World Trade Organisation.

It is likely that the US Congress — already at odds with the EU over trade with Cuba, Libya and Iran — would impose trade sanctions of its own if the maize were blocked. A US spokeswoman in Brussels said: "We are not aware of a single shipment from the US. Although Europe would be within its rights to block genetically modified corn, it would have to prove that it was in a cargo."

She added that it was unlikely any modified maize had yet arrived in Europe, since exporters are expected to wait for the introduction of duty-free quotas in a few weeks' time.

The Commission will decide next week whether to allow the modified maize into Europe after EU environment ministers this week failed to reach agreement. Opposition to imports has come from Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace, independent scientists and some experts from the British Department of Environment.

Three EU scientific committees are due to report on potential health risks next week. The committees are expected to recommend a lifting of the ban, but EU officials have admitted the final decision is likely to be political rather than scientific.

Fears about the maize, produced by the chemical company Ciba Geigy, have arisen because it contains a bacterial marker gene resistant to the antibiotic ampicillin, used to protect the plant from disease and pests.

Unprocessed maize will only be used in animal feed — the gene is destroyed during processing — but opponents argue it could still be passed through the food chain.

Albright nominated to replace Christopher

PRESIDENT CLINTON, made US history last week, nominating the ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, as the first woman secretary of state, *writes Martin Walker in Washington.*

A striking success at the UN — in part because of her media skills — Ms Albright would have been a strong contender even without the staunch support of Hillary Clinton and the women's lobbies that helped secure her promotion.

"CNN is the 16th member of the UN Security Council," Ms Albright once said, and she has taken extraordinary care to prepare her television appearances. She did not stop and talk off-the-cuff after Security Council sessions, like most UN diplomats, but re-rehearsed her media performances with her personal aide, Jamie Rubin.

Mr Rubin helped hone the soundbite that probably secured her the new job, when she condemned the Cuban pilots who shot down two civilian Cuban-American aircraft earlier this year: "This is not *cojónes* [Spanish for testicles], this is cowardice," she said, a remark which President Clinton reckons helped him carry the state of Florida this year.

One of the administration's strongest hawks on Bosnia and the need for US engagement and air strikes against Serbian aggression, Ms Albright has always stressed that, from her Czech background, "my mindset is Munich — most of my generation's is Vietnam".

The appeasement of Hitler by Britain and France at Munich in 1938 is an unusual starting point for America's new top diplomat of the post-cold war era. But it will have a powerful impact on US policy towards enlarging Nato and brushing aside Russian objections, and is likely to produce a tougher US response to sabre-rattling by China.

Ms Albright was also chosen because of her proven skill at working with Congress, and helping to persuade it at least in principle to pay the $1.5 billion that the US owes the UN.

The seal on the choice of Ms Albright was the formal act of surrender by the UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who gave up his attempt to defy the US veto and run for a second term. But what became an almost personal duel between Ms Albright and the Egyptian UN secretary-general has left bruised feelings in France, Africa and the Arab world, which could yet haunt her.

Born in Czechoslovakia, and with pungent memories of British bomb shelters during the second world war before coming with her diplomat father to the US, Ms Albright is fluent in Polish, French and Russian.

She brings a strong emotional commitment to her job, which was most visible in her constant lobbying for US commitment to Bosnia in 1993-94, and in her belief that the eastern European countries have a right to join Western institutions such as Nato and the European Union.

A former professor of international relations at Georgetown University, Ms Albright came to know Mr Clinton and Mrs Clinton when she hosted a series of private seminars on foreign affairs at her home, to which the rising stars of the Democratic Party were invited in the 1980s. She nominated then-Governor Clinton for membership in the Council on Foreign Relations.

Ms Albright's cause was strongly urged by Mrs Clinton, who is a personal friend, and by women's groups who lobbied the White House to remind the president that "the gender gap" of women's votes had re-elected him. She was also strongly backed by General John Shalikashvili at the Pentagon.

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Albright . . . strong support from Hillary Clinton

A victim of its own inflation



The US this week

Martin Walker

AMID ALL the swirling speculation about President Clinton's choices for his new cabinet and national security team, nothing was more important for America's future than the report issued by Professor Michael Boskin and four other leading economists about the Consumer Price Index.

Boskin, now back at Stanford University, was the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Bush, but his reputation has survived the messy recession that cost Bush the White House. Currently chairman of the Congressional Advisory Commission on the CPI, Boskin concluded that the current method of calculating inflation (officially just under 3 per cent) was faulty, and had in recent years overstated the real rate of inflation by an average 1.1 per cent a year.

That does not sound like very much. But one-third of the annual $1,500 billion spent by the federal government is automatically increased each year in line with the inflation rate as measured by the CPI. Social security payments, pensions for federal employees, and income tax rate bands are calculated are all directly affected. Moreover, there is a powerful indirect effect on interest rates, since the markets allow for presumed future inflation.

Boskin's report suggests that by recalculating inflation at the lower level, the cumulative effect over 12 years would reduce the future level of national debt by $1,000 billion. That is roughly the level of wealth produced each year by the UK economy. By 2008, the US federal budget deficit would be higher by more than $200 billion if the old way of measuring inflation remains in force.

The impact of the recalculation on the politics of the US budget for the next few years would be almost magical. Not only would the deficit shrink, but the effect on the National Income Accounts would mean that the levels of GDP and productivity growth would also have to be revised upwards. Boskin suggests that this could be as much as 0.75 per cent a year. Professor Dale Jorgensen, chairman of the economics department at Harvard, put it most succinctly: "The budget crisis might well disappear if the cost of living were measured properly."

The recalculations suggested by the Boskin report would reduce the projected budget deficit of $150 billion in 2002 by at least $50 billion. Over 10 years, it would reduce the total deficit by half a trillion dollars.

It all sounds too good to be true, and it may be. But the economic arguments for Boskin's proposal are cogent enough in US terms. The current method of assessing the CPI does not allow for the intelligent behaviour of consumers, nor for the improvements in quality of the products they are buying.

First, by comparing the changing price of a fixed basket of commodities, it cannot reflect the way that a shopper, faced with a sharp rise in the price of beef, decides to buy cheaper chicken instead. Second, by pricing items at the usual supermarkets and chain stores, it does not allow for the way Americans buy increasingly at discount outlets where prices are often much lower.

Moreover, the CPI does not reflect the way that the personal computer, which cost $2,500 a year ago, can be bought for $1,200 today, or that car tyres bought a decade ago gave about half the wear that the new ones do.

There is a catch. By recalculating the CPI, pensioners will see a cumulative decline in their expected income. Working taxpayers will find themselves creeping into higher tax brackets sooner than they otherwise would. The new CPI offers no free lunches. The typical social security recipient would get about $100 less next year, and the typical taxpayer on $50,000 a year would pay an extra $100 in income tax.

Boskin has not yet persuaded all economists, although his colleagues who co-wrote the report are a glittering crew. They included Professors Dale Jorgensen and Zvi Griliches of Harvard, Professor Robert Gordon of Northwestern University, and from the real world of business, Dr Ellen Dulberger, director of marketing strategy at IBM.

They do, however, stress that their figures are not definitive. Gordon suggested last week that the bias in the current CPI system ranged from 0.8 to 1.6 per cent annually, adding, "Our estimated bias of 1.1 percentage points annually should not be controversial because we have taken every opportunity to err on the conservative side".

The Bureau of Labour Statistics, which calculates the CPI, accepts that the inflation rate may be a touch overstated, but by a figure closer to 0.1 per cent than Boskin's 1.1 per cent. Other economists have different estimates. The controversy generated goes to show that in economics Disraeli's comment about "lies, damned lies and statistics" remains valid. Few figures are reliable enough for the weight of policy and planning that is placed upon them. The US, for example, acknowledges that its trade statistics are so imperfect that it has given up on trying to calculate the real value of exports to Canada, and relies on Canada's import figures instead.

This makes an interesting philosophical point about the vanity of human presumptions. Unable to measure correctly, we concoct a numerical reality and then proceed to make hugely important political decisions on the basis of our estimates, which recalls the comment made about France's Napoleon III: that, like most politicians, he built castles in their air, but then took the dangerous step of assuming that he could move into them.

THE BROAD assumption in Washington political circles is that the CPI will be recalculated, because both White House and Republican leaders in Congress are keen to take advantage of the fiscal benefits and easier political decision-making this would bring. But the politics of this reform may be far trickier than Boskin and the economists think. The former head of the Congressional Budget Office, Robert Reischauer, argues that only about one-third of the potential savings from a new CPI could be delivered by administrative fiat. The rest would require legislation, which opens congressmen to all the usual pressures from the lobby groups. Last year, an attempt to shave half a percentage point off the CPI failed to get 50 votes in the Senate after the labour unions and the American Association of Retired Persons had done their rounds.

"Arbitrarily changing the CPI is a dangerous path to follow," warned the AARP's executive director, Horace Deets, a man who wields the threat of the wrath of American's most dedicated voting group. "If Congress cannot balance the budget by reducing the CPI, will they next seek to legislate the unemployment rate or interest rates?"

It may also be significant that opinion polls find that the public estimates that inflation is running at 5 per cent a year, which is how it feels to them as consumers. The lobby groups for the elderly complain that the cost of living for the aged has been rising disproportionately fast, because of the higher costs of drugs and medical care.

These objections will all be thoroughly rehearsed in Congress, and there are already some counter-proposals that would shield the poor on supplemental security and similar programmes from the new calculation. This may be possible, but it would be complicated, and in any case it would come as the new welfare law starts to make things much tougher for the non-working poor.

It may also come as another fundamental financial reform gets under way. Later this month, the presidential commission on social security is due to report, and early leaks suggest that it will unanimously propose that it is time to consider privatising at least some of the social security system.

This idea is hedged with difficulties, not least because the transition period of shifting from one cohort of retirees, whose pensions are run by the state, to another, whose pensions will be run by the stock market, albeit with government guarantees, will be hideously complex.

There is already talk of a "grand bargain between the generations", which is being publicly touted by David Gergen, a well-connected adviser to both the Reagan and Clinton administrations. This would involve rather lower payments to the next wave of retirees, and rather higher than current payments from those still working. And while the reform of the CPI would reduce the payments out, its impact on income tax brackets would increase the pressure on those now working.

Continent's spoils slip from French fingers

The Clinton administration is calling the shots over Chirac's neo-colonial strategy. **Chris McGreal** in Kigali and **David Harrison** in Cameroon report

ZAIRE'S cancer-ridden president, Mobutu Sese Seko, was carried to his latest television interview on a stretcher. Propped up in a chair in the plush villa he may never leave, Zaire's despot was prodded into bursts of lucidity in a futile attempt to pretend that he is still in control of his war-ravaged nation and will one day go home.

Last week President Jacques Chirac of France was in Africa, making an equally vain effort to persuade his country's former colonies that its influence on the continent is not withering with Mr Mobutu.

France has stood by powerless as one of the nations central to what Paris considers its domain in Africa has imploded. Rwandan soldiers, Zairean rebels and Ugandan troops have driven Mr Mobutu's army from large swaths of eastern Zaire.

The rebels — a mixture of resuscitated, post-independence guerrilla movements and persecuted Zairean Tutsis — claim to be within striking distance of Kisangani, the country's third largest city, and the rich diamond fields of Kasai province.

It is not that Paris does not wish to intervene. It did all it could to try to engineer international approval for a force similar to the one it led into Rwanda in 1994 in an attempt to keep that tragic nation under Paris's wing. That move backfired badly, not only producing a government in Kigali deeply hostile to France, but also laying the ground for the civil war in Zaire.

But this time France was forced to confront new limits to its neo-colonial adventurism in Africa. The US ambassador to Zaire, Daniel Simpson, put succinctly the new realities. "France is no longer capable of imposing itself in Africa," he said in an interview with a Zairean newspaper. "Neo-colonialism is no longer tolerated. The French attitude no longer reflects the reality of the situation."

Paris spluttered its protest, but its former African colonies took note at a francophone summit in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, last week. Although they went along with Mr Chirac's call for a multinational force to protect civilians in eastern Zaire, it was a token demonstration amid an unusual air of defiance.

France, more than any former colonial power, has maintained ties that bind Africa. It props up regional currencies and economies in return for markets and investment. But the relationship also helps France to maintain its self-perception as a major power, especially at the United Nations.

Underscoring French resolve that its former colonies should remain loyal is a deep-seated fear of the spread of Anglo-Saxon culture. But Mr Chirac appears to have recognised that the days of French unilateral intervention in Africa are over.

Last week he told Zaire's prime minister, Kengo Wa Dondo, that France would help to drive out foreign forces, but only when Zaire had "restructured its army", an unrealistic hope according to rueful French diplomats.

Three years ago President Mobutu would only have had to ask, and French troops, advisers and equipment would have been defending his cities. The naked self-interest of French intervention in Rwanda in 1994 put paid to all that. Paris was not alone in standing by while hundreds of thousands of Tutsis were murdered. But it continued to support the extremist Hutu regime which oversaw the genocide.

Three months after the slaughter started, Paris persuaded the UN Security Council to authorise it to occupy western Rwanda, ostensibly to save Tutsis. But it was far too late. Almost all the Tutsis in the region were dead or gone. In reality, France was making a last bid to prop up the defeated Hutu regime against Rwandan Tutsi rebels whom Paris viewed as little more than an anglophone front because the bulk of the leadership had been raised in English-speaking Uganda.

Paris was not only unable to prevent the collapse of the former government, but it also laid the groundwork for the present crisis in eastern Zaire and the undermining of France's influence in Africa.

French soldiers helped to provide an escape route for soldiers of the defeated Hutu army and extremist militias into Zaire, where they used the refugee camps to attack and threaten the new Rwandan government. The Tutsi-led government responded with the recent invasion.

If eastern Zaire has demonstrated the new limits on French adventurism in Africa, it was the US that willingly drew the line. The US orbit in Africa has grown since the end of the Cold War.

In October, Washington and Paris got into a spat over sarcastic remarks by a junior French minister about the first trip to Africa by the then US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, shortly before the American election.

But the real tension lay elsewhere. A few days earlier, France had frustrated US plans for a standing African intervention force, saying it was ill thought out.

By the time Rwanda invaded eastern Zaire, the US was more than willing to block French adventurism. Paris pushed to lead an intervention force, again claiming it was only motivated to save civilian lives. But Mr Chirac recognised that the political climate would not permit France to act on its own, and to others, including Britain, it smacked too much of 1994.

The French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, accused the Americans and the British of being spineless and, by extension, racist for failing to want to help Africans. But Washington was buying time for its Rwandan allies finally to whip their opponents in Zaire and, in the process, lay to rest French aspirations.

Le Monde, page 13

A beleaguered Major fails to quell maverick MPs and Eurosceptics in a bad week for Tories, writes **Ewen MacAskill**

Conservatives play dangerous game

JOHN MAJOR'S hopes of staggering on to a general election next May were crumbling after his worst week in office for 18 months ended with a one-man Tory revolt that wiped out the Government's Commons majority.

The announcement by Tory backbencher Sir John Gorst that he was withdrawing his co-operation from the Government over a local hospital issue left the Conservatives with only 322 votes to count on, the same as the other parties put together.

If Labour wins Thursday's byelection in Barnsley, which is almost certain, the Government will become a minority one. To compound Mr Major's problems, two other Tories, Hugh Dykes and Terry Dicks, also threatened to withdraw their co-operation.

Last week's compendium of crises for Mr Major was dominated by reports of a public split with his Chancellor Kenneth Clarke over the single currency and compounded by a controversial government plan to pare the war pension budget, the ousting of moderate Sir Nicholas Scott and a Commons revolt by backbenchers on compensation for gun holders. It also prompted Labour to contemplate the possibility of a February or March election.

With Tory Eurosceptics laying siege to Mr Clarke, Mr Major enraged them further by insisting there will be no backing down on the agreed cabinet policy of delaying a decision on a single currency until after the election.

The Deputy Prime Minister, Michael Heseltine, said: "Nobody seriously wants to see Ken Clarke, one of the most powerful figures in British politics, presiding over an economic success story that we haven't seen for generations, in any threat."

The Labour leader, Tony Blair, said: "The Government is disintegrating before our eyes. It lurches from one crisis to the next. It is bereft of leadership and direction. It is divided and incompetent and incapable of governing the country."

Tory Eurosceptics were due to focus this week on a two-day Commons debate on Europe and on the European summit in Dublin at the weekend to discuss the single currency, border controls and other awkward issues.

But in a move calculated to defuse tensions within the European Union and the Tory party, Mr Major is expected to endorse the draft treaty document in Dublin while reserving his right to veto its main conclusions at a later date.

Sir John Gorst was reacting to a local issue, the loss of a full-time casualty unit at London's Edgware General hospital, rather than Europe but it demonstrated the extent to which the Government has become prey to the whims of every backbencher.

Technically, he has not withdrawn the whip, which would have meant he could not have stood as a Tory candidate, but the Government can no longer count on his support.

Mr Dicks's grievance was Mr Major's leadership in general, particularly his refusal to sack Mr Clarke: "I am totally disillusioned with the Prime Minister, who seems to be acting like the helmsman on the Titanic."

As soon as Mr Major loses his majority, Labour will challenge the Government's right to have a majority on Commons committees. If it succeeds, Mr Major's position will become unsustainable.

For his part Mr Major insists that the Government has been consistently following the Europe policy agreed by Cabinet earlier this year.

But enraged Tory Eurosceptics threatened revenge against Mr Major after he uncompromisingly warned them during a BBC interview on Sunday that their "savage" civil war risked forcing an early general election.

In his most confident display for months, Mr Major dismissed the most militant of the Eurosceptics as "a few mavericks in Parliament" out for a moment's glory.

"If they don't support us, then we may have a general election, but that is in the nature of politics. But I am not going to be held to ransom by any single backbencher on any issue."

Senior Tory backbenchers, who in public sounded moderate, were in private scathing. "He has just declared war on the Tory party," a former cabinet minister said.

In spite of the Prime Minister's tough language, a compromise is being prepared behind the scenes. Party strategists were briefing after the interview that Mr Major will become increasingly strident about the chances of other European countries meeting the necessary criteria for joining a single currency. This would allow him to say that joining a single currency is not a realistic option for years to come.

The strategists said he could not say this last weekend because it would have annoyed Britain's European partners unnecessarily in the run-up to the two-day European Union summit in Dublin. But the line would be heard more often and loudly in the months to come and had been agreed with Mr Clarke.

Mr Major called on his colleagues to trust him. He had set out the Government's policy on Europe many times: Britain will not rule out joining a single currency before the election because it wants to remain part of the negotiations.

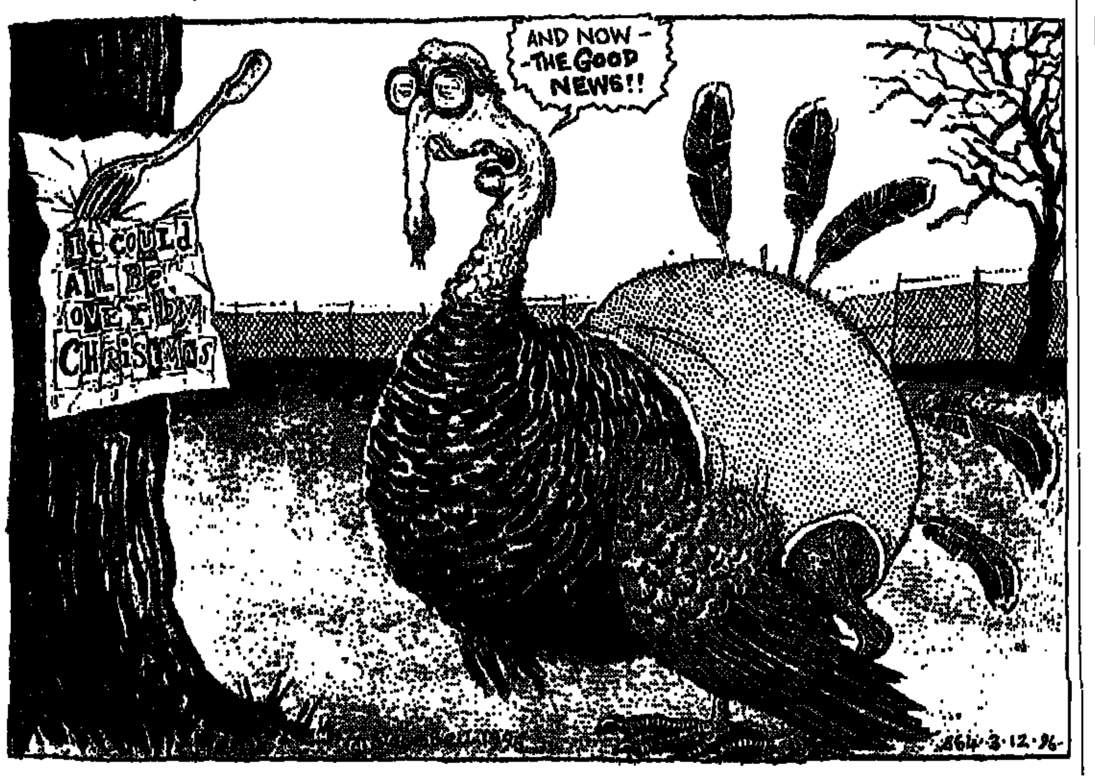
Such a declaration had in the past dampened down the Eurosceptics. "It has quelled these savage disputes for a while and they have blown up in a different part of the forest," Mr Major said.

He insisted he had not been boxed in by the two leading pro-Europeans in the Cabinet, Mr Clarke and Mr Heseltine.

Meanwhile pro-Europeans took out a half-page advertisement in Monday's Times urging the Government "under no circumstances" to rule out participation in a single currency "now or in the future". The plea was made by the European Movement and signed by politicians of all parties including former deputy prime minister Lord Howe and Tory MPs Tim Eggar and Edwina Currie.

Ms Currie dubbed the Eurosceptics the "Conservative version of Militant".

Comment, page 12



Revolts over pensions and handguns

Guardian Reporters

THE Prime Minister faced a huge revolt by Tory backbenchers last week over his handling of plans for £50 million cuts in war pensions, branded "shabby and mean-minded" in a wounding Commons attack by the Labour leader, Tony Blair.

In the noisiest and most bitter exchanges in the Commons since the summer, Mr Major came off a poor second to Mr Blair in a series of exchanges on exposure of the plans and the acknowledged £1 million "sweeteners" added to appease ex-service groups. One cut will stop 10,000 people a year getting a higher disability pension because their hearing is deteriorating after being damaged during military service.

The new cuts package was described in the Budget small print as "proposals to simplify policy and procedures", which "will eliminate inconsistent entitlement conditions". The Whitehall documents show it will, in fact, produce "around 500 gainers (all war widows) and about 7,000-10,000 losers" — nearly all war disablement pensioners.

This figure excludes those to be hit by the additional curb on higher deafness pensions, which is forecast to stop 10,000 veterans a year getting a bigger pension. The eventual annual saving is put at £35 million of the total £50 million envisaged.

Tory backbenchers were almost unanimous in expressing dismay that a Tory government should attempt to squeeze war pensioners.

To prevent an earlier revolt, the Home Secretary, Michael Howard had to announce an 11th-hour concession by agreeing that the owners of .22 calibre handguns, who would be required to keep their firearms at secure gunclubs, would be entitled to compensation if they found it difficult to continue shooting.

The compensation bill for handgun owners will soar from £25 million to £150 million under the new concessions. But pro-shooting Tory backbenchers claimed the Home Secretary still had not gone far enough.

The latest Home Office estimate is six times the original figure quoted as the price of buying up 160,000 higher calibre weapons.

But after 63 Tories defied a three-line whip on the Firearms Bill and launched one of this Parliament's biggest rebellions, former minister Jerry Wiggins said he was "deeply ashamed" of the Government's role in the legislation.

Labour helped the Government to stave off defeat, rejecting the rebels' move by 299 votes to 113. The bill now goes to the Lords, and Mr Howard is understood to be considering further concessions in the event of further revolts.

Campaigners fight on, page 19

Does the country want such a rabble?

Tory backbenchers seem driven by a death wish, writes **Lord Gilmour**

RECENTLY both major parties have sometimes seemed to be trying to lose the coming election, but the Conservative efforts during the past few days have easily surpassed anything that has happened before.

No Conservative government should even think of trying to reduce the benefits of war pensioners. But if there was a reasonable explanation for the Treasury's meanness, nobody seems to have told John Major. So instead of a convincing defence or a dignified retreat, he fell back on ill-mannered abuse of the leader of the Opposition.

That was merely self-destructive. The row over Europe is even more damaging. For a government to put off a general election until almost the last possible moment, which seems to be John Major's intention or hope, is always dangerous, particularly when the Government's majority has disappeared.

Hanging on can work only if the Government gives the voters the impression that its objective is not just to save its own skin or postpone defeat but to govern in the national interest.

To convey that impression the minimum requirement is that on important issues such as Europe, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, having formulated a policy, should stick to it.

Yet as soon as Labour came out for a referendum on the single currency, the Conservative Europhobes started calling for a change of Conservative policy to outflank Labour. They wanted to appeal to the xenophobia that they and their press supporters devote so much energy to whipping up. The Europhobes were calling for government policy to be based on what they perceive to be their electoral interest, not on Britain's future wellbeing.

The Conservative ideal used to be country before party. That is well beyond the capabilities of our Europhobes. It will be a relief indeed if they only put party before country. Instead they put faction before party with the country trailing far behind.

The Conservative MP Edward Leigh seems to have evolved a doctrine of backbench sovereignty; whatever a majority of Conservative backbenchers favour at any given moment must become government policy.

Does he really think the country wants to be governed by such a rabble as the current Conservative party? The trouble is that over the last few years the Europhobes have seen the Government cave in to their pressure; so naturally they continue with the same tactics.

If John Major is to restore morale and give the Conservatives a good chance of winning the election, he must stick to his (or Kenneth Clarke's) guns and yield no more ground to his right wing. He has to be firm with his party and sensible with Britain's European partners in Dublin.

Wobbles to the right over Europe would be self-defeating. The voters would turn away from the party in disgust.

Lord Gilmour was a Conservative MP between 1962 and 1992

Bill to end stalking

Alan Travis

THE Government's anti-stalking law, published last week, is so widely drawn it will also be used against nuisance neighbours, workplace bullies and racists, the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, announced.

Ministers say the Protection from Harassment Bill will lead to 200 new cases a year, with the tough penalty of up to five years in prison available to the judges.

"This bill tackles the kind of harassment which makes life a misery for many people who feel powerless to stop it," Mr Howard said.

The legislation will have its House of Commons second reading on December 16. It will tackle sex stalkers, and lower-level incidents where somebody causes anxiety by repeatedly sending unwanted gifts.

Mr Howard insisted the measure would not stop people from going about their lawful business with the "legitimate work of the police, the security service, journalists and others recognised and protected".

But the low-level "two strikes" trigger for prosecutions for the new crimes attracted criticism from civil liberties campaigners who said it was so widely drawn it could be used against journalists and protesters.

The bill creates two new criminal offences in England and Wales. The "high-level" offence, which involves a threat of violence, is intended to catch the most serious cases of harassment "where on more than one occasion the conduct is so threatening that victims fear for their safety".

The lower-level offence is directed at behaviour which is non-violent but nevertheless can have devastating effects. The victim will have to prove that the incidents have happened at least twice.

The bill departs from previous legislation in that the victim does not have to prove the intent to cause harm. "The prosecution would only have to prove that the conduct occurred in circumstances where a reasonable person would have realised that this would be the effect," it says.

The legislation will also apply in Scotland.

Heat of the moment . . . A fireman takes a street shower after tackling a blaze at the Treasury. The Chief Secretary to the Treasury, William Waldegrave, was among 1,500 people led to safety when a small fire spread smoke through the Whitehall building. They were allowed to return after two hours, when fire fighters had cleared smoke and checked wiring in the basement PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

Lords leader to fight Labour reform plans

Michael White

A LABOUR government will use every weapon at its disposal to push through reform of the House of Lords, including the mass creation of Labour peers to swamp Tories, according to Lord Irvine of Lairg.

Lord Irvine, a close friend of Tony Blair, is expected to be Lord Chancellor in a Labour government and would oversee the abolition of hereditary peers. His threat is a powerful counter-blast against the present Leader of the Lords, Lord Cranborne, who began the battle in earnest with a warning to Mr Blair against his "ill-thought out" constitutional reform package.

Lord Irvine, in an interview in the New Statesman, said a draft bill to abolish the hereditary peers was ready: "The time for the abolition of the hereditaries has come."

Lord Cranborne, champion of the hereditaries, is capable of running a campaign of obstruction that could delay reform for years. But Lord Irvine said he would not rule out the Lloyd George solution of threatening to create new peers.

It was pointed out that convention would allow the creation of only two peers a day, with a maximum of six a week, which would make it years before Labour peers would outnumber Tories.

Lord Cranborne, a close ally of John Major, accused Mr Blair of wanting to abolish the voting rights of hereditary peers as "a convenient sop" to the Labour left.

Labour's leadership is wary of a protracted war of attrition with the Lords. Labour's chief whip, Donald Dewar, claimed that "by far the most significant element of this speech is the assumption by a member of the present Cabinet that a Labour government is coming".

In a sharp response to Labour's plans to stop hereditary peers like himself voting in the Lords, Lord Cranborne, heir to the 400-year-old Salisbury titles, made a defiantly unfashionable defence of inherited political power.

As amateurs they were "less interested in climbing the greasy pole" than MPs, no less expert and not in fear of patronage or the whips, he said, rejecting data compiled by Labour peers to show that hereditary peers help Tory governments avoid defeats they would otherwise suffer if only life peers could vote.

Zulu boy back in Britain

Sue Quinn

A ZULU boy at the centre of a battle between his parents and the white family who helped raise him is back in Britain after the dispute over his future appears to have been settled.

Sifiso Mahlangu, aged 12, is now expected to live with Salome Stopford, the South African woman who employed his parents when she lived in Johannesburg, and who lost a lengthy court battle to adopt the boy after four years caring for him in Britain.

According to reports, Sifiso's father, Charles, has agreed to let his son remain in Britain on the condition that he goes home twice a year.

His father admitted that Sifiso was unhappy and wanted to return to Britain, but he said his wife Selina would not let him go.

In May, there were harrowing scenes at Heathrow when the boy was so distraught about his return to South Africa and his separation from his would-be adoptive mother, that his flight had to be delayed.

Mrs Stopford, aged 50, from Maida Vale, London, has visited South Africa since Sifiso returned there and has claimed that he was miserable in his home town.

He could not speak Zulu when the court ruled that he should return to discover his Zulu roots.

The case went through the High Court, the Court of Appeal and the House of Lords before Mrs Stopford's application for it to be referred to the European Court of Human Rights was rejected.

Sperm case rules review

THE Government announced a review of the rules which prevented Diane Blood from becoming pregnant using her dead husband's frozen sperm, *writes Luke Harding*.

Junior health minister Baroness Cumberlege ruled out "wide-ranging" changes to the 1990 Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act but said ministers would look at the issues.

The disclosure comes as Mrs Blood, aged 30, prepares to take her case to the appeal court in mid-January. In October, the High Court ruled against her application to be inseminated with her late husband's sperm because he had not given written permission. Stephen Blood died last year from meningitis.

Lady Cumberlege, describing Mrs Blood's case as "sad and tragic", said: "I consider the review . . . will provide an opportunity for everyone to explore these complex legal, ethical and practical issues and their implications in depth."

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Machete attacker faces life sentence

Duncan Campbell

A PARANOID schizophrenic found guilty on Monday of attempting to murder seven women and children with a machete at an infant school's teddy bears' picnic had been recommended for psychiatric assessment eight months earlier, it emerged after his trial. But, despite probation officers' recommendations, no psychiatric report was ordered.

Horrett Campbell, aged 33, emerged from a brief jail sentence to carry out his attack at St Luke's infants school, in Blackenhall, Wolverhampton, in July this year.

Ian Gillespie, the magistrate who made the decision not to seek a psychiatric report, defended his decision partly on the grounds that Campbell said he would not co-operate. Critics said the cost of a report may have been a factor.

Harry Fletcher, assistant general secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers, said the courts were now under tremendous pressure not to adjourn cases for psychiatric reports because of the cost. He said: "We must stop seeing these as isolated cases. It is part and parcel of the failure of community care."

Campbell, who had a fascination for Dunblane murderer Thomas Hamilton and Martin Bryant, who killed 35 people in Tasmania, was told he faces life imprisonment for the attack on four women and three children at St Luke's. A jury at Stafford crown court convicted him unanimously on all counts.

Mr Justice Sedley ordered him to be detained at Ashworth high security hospital, Liverpool, for 12 weeks for assessment before sentencing. "Unless this is a case in which I am caused to send you to a mental hospital I shall be certainly passing a sentence of life imprisonment on you."

The judge also said he would recommend a bravery award for Lisa Potts, aged 21, the nursery nurse at the school who shielded many of the children from the attacks. She received severe cuts to the head and arms.

The four-day trial heard that Campbell had claimed the children at the school were part of a conspiracy against him and called him names. He believed they were devils.

A witness said that Campbell had strode through the playground littered with toys brandishing the 2ft machete as if cutting corn.

Asked why he had stopped the attack, Campbell replied: "It was enough. I wanted to get even and hurt them."

Police found newspaper pictures of Hamilton and Bryant pasted to his bedroom wall in his nearby flat. Beside Bryant's picture, Campbell had drawn a Valentine love heart and Cupid's bow.

In Brief

THREE British diplomats, including Graham Boyce, ambassador to Kuwait, have been summoned to Scotland Yard over claims they perverted the course of justice in the arms-to-Iraq affair.

FORTY-ONE passengers and four crew escaped serious injury when the undercarriage of a KLM Fokker's jet collapsed during a crash landing at Heathrow.

A LEAKED report into the finances of the Royal Academy in London shows it to have debts of more than £3 million.

COMPANIES face a £5,000 fine for each illegal immigrant they are found to employ from next month. Some companies may face exemplary £100,000-plus penalties for repeatedly using illegal workers.

TYNWALD, the parliament of the Isle of Man, selected Donald Gelling, the island's finance minister for eight years, to be its chief minister.

THE National Grid has been ordered to repay more than £55 million to its pension scheme, in a decision which could cost the privatised electricity industry £500 million.

AN INDEPENDENT research group revealed that average water bills have risen by nearly 42 per cent in real terms in the seven years since privatisation.

GEORGE ROBERTSON, shadow Scottish secretary, accepted substantial undisclosed libel damages from the KGB defector Oleg Gordievsky and his publisher, Macmillan, over allegations that he had abused his position as an MP.

BRITAIN has appointed Sir Richard Luce, the Tory foreign minister who resigned over the Falklands war, as the first civilian governor of Gibraltar.

SIR JOHN Gielgud, Britain's most distinguished actor, has been appointed to the Order of Merit by the Queen.

LORD ARCHER has won the go-ahead from fellow peers to press on with his bill to remove sex discrimination from the royal line of succession.

SCOTLAND'S food poisoning epidemic has recorded its tenth victim, an 87-year-old woman. There are 390 patients showing symptoms of *E. coli* infection, of whom 209 are confirmed. An inquiry is underway.

RESEARCH shows that most lecturers are considering leaving the profession to escape overwork, low pay and stress-related illness.

Family to fight death verdict

Alan Travis

THE family of Wayne Douglas, the black burglary suspect whose death in police custody triggered a riot in Brixton, south London, said last week they would launch a High Court fight to quash a verdict that he died accidentally.

The riot a year ago caused damage costing more than £1 million.

The eight-to-one verdict of the inquest jury, which included three blacks, brought a strong warning to police from the Coroner, Sir Montague Levene, of the dangers in the way they had restrained Wayne Douglas, aged 25.

The jury said he died from heart failure caused by "positional asphyxia" brought on by stress and exhaustion. They said he died in a Brixton police cell after a chase and after being repeatedly held "in a prone position as used by current police methods".

Mr Douglas had been held face down with his hands cuffed behind his back on four separate occasions on the night of his arrest.

His death came six months after Brian Douglas — no relation — died in police custody in the Brixton area after being hit on the head with a new US-style baton.

The inquest heard conflicting forensic evidence from three pathologists on the cause of death, but all agreed there was medical evidence that he did not die as a result of repeatedly being beaten by officers with batons, as one witness alleged.

The coroner made seven recommendations for new guidelines on police restraining.

Louise Christian, the family's solicitor, said they would seek a High Court judicial review to overturn the verdict. "Time and time again people, particularly black people, are dying in police cells and no action is taken."

Peri Kemal-Orek with the Frank Auerbach painting PHOTO: TOM JENKINS

Answers on a postcard

PERI KEMAL-OREK was bewildered by all the attention, *writes Dan Glaister*. "I wasn't expecting any of this," said the 27-year-old painter.

Ms Kemal-Orek, surrounded by photographers and television crews, had just collected the unsigned painting she bought last week at the Royal College of Art's Absolut Secret show. Ms Kemal-Orek had guessed well, choosing, from among 1,600 paintings all priced at £30, a painting by Frank Auerbach. It is probably worth £10,000.

The paintings, all on postcards, were by celebrities and students as well as established artists.

The most recent Auerbach to sell at auction fetched more than $35,000 in New York in November.

Ms Kemal-Orek, an art student who contributed a picture to the show, had spotted the lone Auerbach after just five minutes in the gallery.

"His work is very distinctive, but I've been worried all week because there are other artists putting copies in for the show," she said.

The winner of the art lottery did have a head start, however. Last year a friend of hers bought an Auerbach postcard at the same show. That was later valued at £10,000.

"I don't know if this one will be valued as high as that," she said. "I don't think it's as good as last year's." She hoped to enjoy the picture rather than sell it.

All the paintings were sold, raising £48,000 for the Royal College of Art Fine Art Student Fund, which provides grants and hardship funds for artists.

Arrests follow loyalist attacks

David Sharrock

POLICE last week arrested a number of men in connection with sectarian attacks prompted by the loyalist picket of a Catholic church in Co Antrim.

Loyalist protesters have staged pickets at Our Lady's Catholic Church in Harryville, Ballymena for the past 13 weekends as worshippers attend Saturday evening mass.

The protesters say the demonstrations will continue until members of the Orange Order are allowed to march through the nearby village of Dunloy, Co Antrim, where two church parades have been halted because of nationalist protests since the summer.

Meanwhile the Irish prime minister John Bruton has appealed to the IRA to call a Christmas ceasefire to enable Sinn Fein to be admitted to the all-party talks in the new year.

Mr Bruton used a four-hour session with John Major at Downing Street on Monday to step up pressure on the IRA and Sinn Fein while urging Whitehall to concede an early date for Sinn Fein's admission to talks — once a "credible ceasefire" is in place.

Downing Street is adamant that it wants an end to covert military activity if any new ceasefire is to be regarded as genuine.

Yard targets corruption

Duncan Campbell

UNDERCOVER police are to be used to catch their corrupt colleagues, Scotland Yard announced this week. Officers who try to sell stories to newspapers are also to be targeted.

Scotland Yard will also become the first British police force to introduce a confidential hotline — called the Right Line — for officers and civilian staff to inform on colleagues.

Deputy Commissioner Brian Hayes and the director of the complaints investigation branch, Commander Ian Quinn, said the line was being launched so members of the force can voice concerns about colleagues. They said they believed the Metropolitan Police had never been cleaner but added that in any large organisation there was always the possibility of corruption. There had been one or two "worrying signals". He said there would be safeguards to deal with malicious calls.

● Scotland Yard has launched an Appeal Court battle to end the stream of big compensation payouts for wrongful arrest, false imprisonment and assault.

It is estimated that £20 million has been paid out in 10 years.

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TUC to rule on Ford race row

Sarah Boseley

TO ITS embarrassment, the Trades Union Congress has been called in to adjudicate on the decision of 300 truck drivers at Ford's Dagenham plant, heavily involved in a row over racism and nepotism, to switch unions.

The Truckfleet division voted at the weekend to dissolve its branch of the Transport and General Workers Union. Instead, the men want to join the relatively tiny United Road Transport Union, which is not recognised by Ford.

They are furious that the T & G has gone to an industrial tribunal alleging discrimination against black assembly line workers who covet the prestige driving jobs that are, at £30,000 a year, the highest paid manual work at Ford. Forty to 45 per cent of the workers at the Essex plant are black, yet among the drivers the proportion drops to 2 per cent.

The case, brought by six Asians and one Afro-Caribbean, has been adjourned until January. It is against Ford but the company leaves most of the selection procedure for the Truckfleet division to its senior drivers. It has been alleged that most jobs go to the sons and friends of existing drivers. A strike in the division could easily bring the whole company to a standstill.

Their defection from the assertively anti-racist T & G, with its black general secretary, Bill Morris, is an acute embarrassment for the trade union movement. Mr Morris has put the TUC on the spot by demanding that it intervene.

While it is no longer against the law to change from one TUC-affiliated union to another, it is against the TUC rules unless the transfer is agreed by all concerned. Given its anti-racist stance the TUC will feel under pressure to take some action.

Mr Morris accused the URTU of bringing the movement into disrepute by condoning the drivers' flight. "URTU's action in involving itself through the attempted recruitment of T & G members is bringing the trade union movement into disrepute.

"In so far as its actions complicate the campaign to end discrimination at Ford, it is damaging the reputation of the whole trade union movement, in the eyes of black people in particular."

Douglas Curtis, head of campaigns and communication at URTU, said that his union would do no such thing. "We were approached over two months ago by these drivers, who were expressing extreme dissatisfaction, not in an effort to protect a discriminatory system, but protesting at the way they had been treated by their own union, which had decided to take industrial action without consulting them."

He was "utterly incensed" at suggestions from Mr Morris that the URTU had connived with Ford's management and that it was softer on racism than the T & G.

"What I do know from years of experience is that black lorry drivers are very rare. It may simply be because their superior intelligence says don't work in a shitty job for low pay . . . It may also mean they are generally more outgoing and communally minded and being a lorry driver is a very lonely occupation."

A spokesman for the T & G said racism in Truckfleet had been an issue for the past five years, and that they had only gone to an industrial tribunal as a last resort.

Farida Khanum wearing her hijab PHOTOGRAPH: KIPPA MATTHEWS

Appeal against 'hijab' racism

Kamal Ahmed

AN ELECTRICAL engineer who was sacked after she started wearing the Muslim hijab, claimed the atmosphere at the car plant where she worked was "oppressive and intimidating".

Farida Khanum, aged 21, was told by her employers, IBC Vehicles in Luton, Bedfordshire, which makes Vauxhall cars, that wearing the headscarf was dangerous as it could get caught in machinery.

Miss Khanum said she suffered weeks of racist and sexist comments about the hijab, which she started wearing in September after completing a pilgrimage to Mecca.

IBC has denied the claims, saying that Miss Khanum was sacked for attending an open day at a local university without permission, which she denies. Her appeal against the sacking was to be heard this week.

Miss Khanum said colleagues regularly teased her about the headscarf. Workers at the plant, one of the largest employers in Luton, called her rag doll and asked if the hijab was a new form of hard hat.

The case represents the latest in a series of incidents which Muslim community leaders say shows an increasing intolerance of the Muslim community in Britain and on the Continent.

Muslim leaders have called for legislation to protect their faith under blasphemy laws, and asked for the same rights for separate schools accorded to Jews and Catholics.

In September the Commission for Racial Equality agreed to monitor cases of religious discrimination, and the Department of Employment launched a guide on how to take up religious grievances with public and private organisations.

Mothers and baby 'fine'

Sarah Boseley and Elizabeth Pickering

THREE generations were doing well in a Darlington hospital on Sunday — Britain's first surrogate grandmother, Edith Jones, her daughter, Suzanne, and their baby, Caitlin. But while Mrs Jones's act of generosity in giving birth to her daughter's child was universally applauded, questions were raised about the future.

Mrs Jones, 51, gave birth by Caesarean section to Caitlin, who weighed 5lb 3oz, after 36 weeks of pregnancy. Suzanne was unable to carry a child because she has no womb, but produced eggs which were fertilised, through IVF, with the sperm of her husband, Chris Langston, and then implanted in her mother's womb.

Gillian Lockwood, clinical research fellow in fertility at the John Radcliffe hospital in Oxford, saw advantages in the child's grandmother having been the surrogate. "You only have to go back a generation and you've got mothers and grandmothers living together and supporting each other.

"I would have thought it was, dare I say, back to basics. It allows the grandmother a fuller role."

Among those who foresaw problems ahead was Dame Jill Knight, Conservative MP for Birmingham Edgbaston, who said: "My own feeling is that it's very strange for any child to be saddled with a mother who is its grandmother.

"She bore it. I would have thought if you bear a child, you are the child's mother. There might well be identity crises in the future."

The family's treatment cost £3,500 at the private Park Hospital in Nottingham. John Webster, medical director of fertility, explained how Mrs Jones, five years into the menopause, was prepared for pregnancy. "We mimicked what happens in a natural pregnancy by gradually increasing the amount of oestrogen we gave. We can measure the thickness of the lining of the uterus. Then we introduced progesterone," he said.

"It's just hormone replacement therapy. It can only be beneficial and she felt well throughout the pregnancy."

'Ice cream war' man released on bail

Alison Daniels

ONE OF the two men convicted of six murders in the Glasgow ice cream wars was celebrating his freedom last weekend after being released on bail pending an appeal.

Joseph Steele's brief appearance in court came after a 12-year campaign by the men to establish their innocence.

He and his co-accused, Thomas "T C" Campbell, were jailed for life in 1984 after members of the Doyle family died when their home was set alight. The killings came against a background of a vicious territorial war between ice cream van drivers in Glasgow's outlying housing estates. It developed during the 1970s and 1980s amid claims of involvement in money-laundering and drug dealing.

Solicitor advocate Michael McSherry told the Lord Justice-Clerk, Lord Ross, and Lords Morrison and Cowie at the High Court in Edinburgh that in the face of new evidence, a jury was bound to have acquitted his client. Advocate depute Michael Grady said the crown intended to support the conviction.

Steele, who wept at the announcement, had become an embarrassment to the prison service after escaping three times. In 1993 he handcuffed and super-glued himself to the railings of Buckingham Palace. Twice he gave himself up to demonstrate his innocence.

Since the trial a key witness, William Love, has repeatedly recanted his evidence, claiming he made a false statement at the behest of police.

The Scottish Secretary, Michael Forsyth, referred both cases back to the Appeal Court in August.

Former spy dies unnoticed

Richard Norton-Taylor

THIRTY years ago, his name was all over the front pages. Last month he dropped dead on a London bus and no one noticed. It emerged last week that John Vassall, the former Admiralty clerk at the centre of a spy scandal that rocked the Macmillan government, had been privately buried.

Vassall, a homosexual blackmailed by the KGB, changed his name to John Phillips, protected by obscurity. He was usually described as a lonely figure. Yet more than 100 people attended his Latin High Mass funeral service at the Brompton Oratory in Knightsbridge, west London.

Vassall died of a heart attack at the age of 72 outside Baker Street Underground station on November 18, almost entirely forgotten by a public which had vilified him, despite the underlying questions about why someone who had scarcely hidden his homosexuality, and had indulged in a lifestyle well beyond his official means, had not been suspected sooner.

His arrest and trial provoked a furore at a time when political scandal was more about sex and spies than sex and sleaze. The Vassall case was a kind of prelude to the Profumo affair.

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Serbia's days of reckoning

THE SERBIAN struggle has been drawn out and inconclusive, but it must soon come to the crunch. At the end of last week, the opposition forces thought they were celebrating a victory when their disputed election result in Belgrade was referred to the supreme court. But the judges found in favour of the government ruling that had set aside last month's victory by the Zajedno (Together) opposition coalition in the local elections. *A number of judges in the supreme and* lower courts had voiced support for the challenge, but the decision — reached with indecent speed — betrayed the heavy hand of President Slobodan Milosevic. The students may control the streets, but Mr Milosevic can still manipulate the seats.

The only hope now lies in a subsequent move by the city's electoral commission to appeal against the ruling. This could give Mr Milosevic another chance to defuse the crisis while quietly giving ground. The danger is that he is deliberately playing for time, in the hope that the opposition will turn to outright violence — which would then legitimise repressive measures. No one believes for a moment that Mr Milosevic will go quietly. The effect of the Dayton agreement was initially to strengthen, not weaken, his pretensions to great leadership. Though the implicit objective of the war — to build a Greater Serbia — had been lost (or at least postponed) Mr Milosevic was able to present himself as a peace-maker, at least in part because the Western powers felt obliged to treat him as such. His weakness arose not from the actual terms of the settlement, but from the evaporation of an atmosphere of perpetual war crisis which had helped him to maintain dictatorial power against all challengers.

The current protest in the streets is based on a coalition of student and intelligentsia calling for free speech with a broader strutum of middle-class opinion, which complains of public corruption and private hardship. Over the past few weeks it has been an impressive performance, not least because of its relative restraint. But it has failed to reach a critical mass comparable to that of the Czech velvet revolution — to which it has none the less been compared. The organisers are now threatening workers' strikes and marches, but last week's protest at a Belgrade tractor factory failed miserably when only a few hundred took part.

The international community is hovering on the edge of this crisis with uncertainty. Mr Milosevic is the man who started the Bosnia tragedy: he is also the man who finished it. In the opposition coalition, only Vuk Draskovic appears fully committed to Dayton. But these calculations are futile in a situation so full of uncertainties. In the end Mr Milosevic will either be defeated or not by the internal forces against him. International criticism of his actions should be expressed fully and forcefully.

The new nuclear orthodoxy

BANNING the bomb has become an orthodox goal among those who know best what nuclear war would mean. The global coalition of ex-generals and admirals who called last week for a determined drive to rid the world of nuclear weapons is talking on the basis of the most intimate hands-on experience. This initiative follows the recommendation of the equally weighty Canberra Commission on eliminating nuclear warheads.

It is less than three years since General George Lee Butler stepped down from running the US Strategic Air Command. On taking over, he cut the number of nuclear targets by four-fifths. The strategists, he concluded, were living in a world of illusion, with a secret war plan for a huge over-kill strike upon Moscow. He and many colleagues were also increasingly worried by the possibilities of nuclear war by accident. He says he had studied an "appalling array of accidents and incidents" involving nuclear weapons. An echo of these recently surfaced, in spite of attempts at suppression by Britain's Ministry of Defence, in the reports of several nuclear near-disasters at US airfields in the UK.

Field Marshal Lord Carver should also be taken very seriously when he argues that nuclear bombs have "no utility as a military weapon". He points to the lack of strategic rationale after the cold war, the appalling destructiveness if such weapons should come to be used, and the growing danger of proliferation unless nuclear disarmament can be achieved.

All five overt nuclear powers claim that they would like to see a reduction to nuclear zero: but not one of them really regards this as a desirable goal. Their secret conviction that nuclear weapons should be retained is based on dubious history. There was no nuclear conflict during the cold war, they argue, therefore there could not have been one. The Soviet Union collapsed and therefore the deterrent "worked". The logical flaws are evident: *in any case, the situation today is very different.* Proliferation, as General Butler remarks, cannot be contained "in a world where a handful of self-appointed nations both arrogate to themselves the privilege of owning nuclear weapons, and extol the ultimate security assurances they assert such weapons convey". To argue that nuclear weapons are an insurance against a new cold war is a sure way of strengthening the hardliners in Moscow.

Those who spoke out against nuclear weapons before, who were labelled peaceniks or comsymps, who were the target of secret surveillance, harassment and dirty tricks, may be allowed a quiet smile now that their heresies have become so widely accepted. But the dominant feeling must be satisfaction that this is now a mainstream debate. The latest move in Washington may even help persuade President Clinton to adopt nuclear renunciation as an explicit goal. It would be prudent as well as principled for the British government not to be left behind.

Time for Britain to go to the polls

THERE HAS not been a UK general election in January since before the first world war. But there always has to be a first time. That time is now. Britain cannot wait another five months. The political situation requires a general election at the earliest moment. It cannot be resolved in any other way. It is not just the Government's parliamentary majority that has collapsed but its wider authority. John Major's administration has ceased to be capable of governing and of conducting national negotiations with Britain's European allies. The proof of the Government's collapse was epitomised last week by the fact that ministers seriously thought that they could and should cut war pensions in the annual Budget without revealing the decision. But this was only a collateral event to the major crisis: Europe and the need for membership of the European Union to be effectively defended.

Many aspects of Mr Major's policy towards Europe in the past six years have been well-judged. He has been right to be cautious about a single currency and to insist that it must be economically sound and honestly created with the democratic consent of the peoples of Europe. He has been right to resist provocative and potentially destabilising moves towards an unrealistic level of political unification. But his failures are at least as important. Caution about the single currency has deteriorated into a more general hostility towards *economic co-operation and social* policy. Opposition towards unrealistic unification proposals has spilled over into a wholesale negative approach towards improving the EU's democratic accountability. And a tough negotiating stance on particular issues has degenerated into what is almost a separatist mentality in all fields.

Today this process has become a downward spiral of disengagement from Britain's long-term interests. A modernised Britain needs to be part of Europe. That does not mean becoming a passive partner. But it does mean promoting the benefits of engagement in Europe. British abstentionism has promoted what it was intended to prevent: London's influence has been reduced almost to nothing because of the constant surrender to back-bench blackmail. The EU is beginning to be in danger of breaking itself apart to rid itself of the problems Britain has caused.

That is why it is so important that the Government should be brought to an end at the earliest possible opportunity — and by almost any means available. The Government is paralysed by its own divisions, with ministers briefing against one another. These are signs of the end of an era and the fall of a regime. It is time to decide, even if it means an election in a cold and dark January.

Nato's loose alliance in a very tight spot

Martin Woollacott

BEHIND the familiar acronyms, with their impression of solidity and continuity, the institutions that hold international *life together have had some difficult* weeks. The United States has probably succeeded in deposing the secretary-general of the United Nations, while the UN itself has lost credibility in the latest intervention crisis, in Central Africa. France has complicated Nato's affairs by continuing to demand that a European be given command of the Sixth Fleet, while Nato struggles with enlargement, and with the continuing problem of Bosnia. The use of the internationalised military and diplomatic establishment, which is the most important legacy of the second world war and of the cold war, is at the heart of all these discussions. How and when to employ these pooled assets — military force, diplomatic sanctions, economic aid — is the most critical question.

We call it "the Alliance", a curious phrase since we are not at war, never have been, and certainly are now further from that state than at any time. What it represents, rather, is a partial merger of military forces and of diplomatic institutions, a merger of which Nato is the core but which includes many other elements, and other, non-Nato nations that are more lightly or conditionally attached.

The military forces are, with only one real exception, only barely capable of being used for purely national purposes. The exception is, of course, the United States, but even here the degree of symbiosis with other states is considerable. Europeans rarely think of doing anything without others because it is literally impossible to imagine unilateral action in most circumstances.

In the volatile years since Mikhail Gorbachev's fall, the Alliance's main fault has been that of timorousness. This was terribly illustrated in Bosnia, where Nato soldiers grossly exaggerated the power of their potential opponents in the field, and where Western diplomats both exaggerated the power of nationalist politicians and, worse, actually enlisted them as partners of a kind.

It is illustrated in a different way by the hovering over Nato enlargement in eastern Europe. If there had been much earlier acceptance of a first wave of Nato candidates from the East, we would now be talking not about Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic but about a second set of candidates. Because the issue was postponed, there are now doubts, which there ought not to be, about the right of all these states, in time and as they meet conditions to do with democratic stability, economic capacity, and military efficiency, to join the West's organisation for military co-operation.

Thinking too small in the Balkans continues to be a problem. The broadest aim of policy ought always to have been to change the regimes in Belgrade and Zagreb, Bosnia *being ultimately insoluble* without such change. Now, when both Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic are in trouble, it seems at least arguable that the diplomats overestimated the local leaders as much as the soldiers overestimated their armies. Their being powerful and immovable was the only argument, after all, for dealing with them.

Warren Zimmerman, the former US ambassador in Belgrade, says in his recent book, Origins Of A Catastrophe, that the destruction of Yugoslavia is "a story with villains", *of which the worst is Milosevic and* the next worst Tudjman. Until they have passed from the scene, together with all their bloodied and compromised associates, these societies cannot break away from the pattern of ethnic hostility and one-party rule into which they have settled.

What is really needed, even if it cannot be plainly stated in public, are policies aimed not at making these regimes change — they cannot — but at bringing them down.

In former Yugoslavia, the Alliance has not done enough. In eastern Europe, it has promised too much, or allowed would-be members to presume too much, and now is trying to retreat without causing too much damage.

At issue is the question of what the Alliance is. The would-be members see it above all as an alliance that will protect them against Russia, whereas the present members experience it as an expensive, difficult, useful, and unavoidable system of military, military-industrial, and diplomatic co-operation for an increasingly diverse set of purposes. Those still include guarding against the remote possibility that Russia might revert to serious hostility, but they go far beyond that.

THEY GO beyond it, indeed, to envisage Russia forming part of the system which internationalises military capacity, even if that does not necessarily mean membership of Nato itself. Why not? Apart from any other consideration, Russia's inclusion would introduce an additional tension into an organisation that has not yet fully worked out the tensions between the US and European members. Those can push the system close to failure, as they did in Bosnia. It must therefore remain a very long-range possibility indeed that Russia could actually join, while a semi-detached relationship is already a reality and should, as Nato wants, be developed further.

The more general truth about the balance between Russia and the West in eastern Europe is that any Russian move against any of these states, whether they are inside or outside Nato, would instantly transform the East-West relationship. That would be particularly true of any act against the Baltic states. Nato would be back on an anti-Russia footing, and the fate of threatened countries would become a possible cause of worse conflict.

Nato surely is passing from being a defensive alliance to being a general-purpose organisation for co-ordinating military force, for ensuring that this force is safe as far as it can be, and for the careful use of that force. Former US Air Force General George Lee Butler argued last week that nuclear weapons at *any level cannot be made safe.* This is the kind of challenge to which the Alliance ought now to respond. Military force cannot be abandoned, although perhaps nuclear weapons can. But it is being and must continue to be internationalised, and therein lies Nato's future.

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Le Monde

Islamist hand seen behind Paris bomb blast

Hervé Gattegno, Erich Inciyan and Jean-Pierre Tuquoi in Paris

POLICE investigating the bomb that went off at a Paris underground station in an *outbound suburban train, which* killed four people and seriously injured 22, are working on the assumption that it is the work of Islamist terrorists.

Even though investigators say they have no "hard evidence" linking the bombing to the Algerian Armed Islamic Group, they are clearly worried that GIA cells on French territory that were destroyed late last year may have reformed.

Intelligence sources say that Ali Touchent, also known as Tarek, the man believed to be the GIA network "co-ordinator" in France, was reported to have been seen in London a few weeks ago. Meanwhile a large-sale operation by Italian police on November 7 netted 22 radical Islamists, some of whom are believed to have links with members of Tarek's organisation.

Intelligence services have also noted the appearance in the September 10 issue of El Djamaa (The Group), an Islamist paper with a limited circulation published in Algeria, of a statement by Antar Zouabri, aged 36, the GIA's new *emir*, in which he reiterated his determination to adopt "the same attitude as my predecessors" towards France. Zouabri took over from Abou Abderahmane Amine (Djamel Zitoune) after the latter was "executed" by opponents within his own organisation in July.

With regard to the GIA's political line, the statement said: "The GIA in Abou Abderahmane Amine's time has taught us to adopt bold and frank positions towards France and other ungodly countries that support apostate tyrants [the Algerian government]. Is there a change in these positions? The GIA's positions and principles do not follow from a particular stage or interests linked to reason, but are inspired by the Book [the Koran] and the Sunna [traditional Islamic law]." The GIA's position towards France "is legitimate and not dictated by reason and interests, as some may think".



French troops prepare for patrols at the Gare du Nord in Paris last week PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL SINGLER

The diplomatic context, shortly after the referendum in Algeria and at a time when the restoration of commercial air services between Paris and Algiers appears imminent, could have precipitated a return to violence on French soil. Another sign of Algeria's reconciliation with its European economic partners is the grant of a $157 million loan to Algeria by the European Union — announced on December 3, the same day as the bombing.

The GIA's current structure can only be speculated on. Established in the early 1990s with the aim of "Islamising" Algerian society, the GIA has become a handy but misleading acronym.

The movement is reported to have splintered into a number of cells working independently of one another. Headed by *emirs*, they include "Afghans" — Algerians who fought against the Russians in Afghanistan — and young activists who feel they have been excluded from the rewards of economic development.

Only two years ago, Western governments were not ruling out the possibility of the GIA's Islamists and those of the rival Islamic Army of Salvation (AIS), the military wing of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), seizing power in Algeria. There were audacious strikes, defections from the army and numerous seizures of weapons. Nothing, it seemed, could stand up to militants *solidly entrenched in some of the* big cities close to the capital and its working-class districts.

To justify granting a European Union loan to Algeria, the French prime minister, Alain Juppé, in the spring of 1994 publicly raised the spectre of "Algeria falling into Islamist hands with all its incalculable consequences".

At around the same time an Air France passenger plane was hijacked at Algiers airport, followed a month later by a car-bomb attack on the central police station in Algiers, which killed 40 people, mostly civilians. Since then the violence has not stopped, but the situation has changed. An Islamist takeover of power is now ruled out. The Algerian army — equipped with sophisticated weaponry and having substantial human resources — has gained the upper hand, inflicting severe losses on adversaries without major financial resources.

But Islamist commando groups, with their ability to quickly go to *ground in a country four and a half* times the size of France, still have a substantial destructive capability. By their brutal behaviour the Islamists have cut themselves off from the vast majority of ordinary Algerians who, apart from the odd case, do not seem to be supporting them except under duress.

The army and the police should have been able to turn their adversary's strategy of terror to their own advantage in securing popular support. But their own use of violence has left Algerians feeling trapped between two bands of oppressors.

(December 6)

US envoy in Zaire speaks too freely

Laurent Zecchini

THE US state department has *distanced itself from comments* attributed to its ambassador in Kinshasa, Daniel Simpson, which were carried in Zairean newspapers. In an interview granted to several local papers, the ambassador is reported to have said that Zaire "is no longer of any interest to the United States" and "no longer commands respect in the world".

He is said to have added that France "is not capable of imposing itself any more" in Africa and "is supporting decadent regimes".

Journalists present at the interview said Simpson also declared that "Rwanda is well equipped and has come to stay here [on Zaire territory] for a long time".

With Franco-American relations going through a difficult phase (particularly as a result of differences regarding Nato's southern command) and Washington supporting the Rwandan government, which places it in a situation many countries consider to be ambiguous, Simpson's remarks — in all probability reflecting the thinking of many US diplomats — have heightened tensions.

The state department first protested that the remarks had been "taken out of context", then added that the reporters had "breached the rules of the interview". All this suggests that Simpson's remarks may have been off-the-record and were not meant to have been attributed to him.

The state department spokesman, Nicholas Burns, said that the "substance" of the interview had not been correctly reported by some journalists. He added that in any case the statements published in the Zairean newspapers represented neither the position of the US government, in particular concerning the state of US-French relations, nor that of its ambassador.

He said that the US was committed to pursuing and strengthening co-operation with France and other Western countries to resolve the humanitarian crisis in eastern Zaire, and did not wish for the country's territorial integrity to be called into question.

Washington says it is "deeply concerned" by news of a series of atrocities committed by Zairean Banyamulenge (Tutsi) rebels commanded by Laurent Kabila, and supported by the Rwandan regime. This clarification is aimed at scotching rumours that the US is encouraging both the destabilisation of President Mobutu's government and the military incursions into Zaire by the Rwandan army.

Even though US-Zairean relations are notoriously difficult (there is still a de facto ban on Mobutu entering the US), Washington claims to be aware that if developments get out of hand they will ultimately result in destabilising the Zairean regime. The Clinton administration, *however, is still "strongly* encouraging democratic transition in Zaire" and giving diplomatic support to the Rwandan government — not exactly the best way of shoring up Mobutu's position.

(December 6)

Ecuador plans sweeping economic reforms

Nicole Bonnet

ECUADOR'S President Abdala Bucaram has finally unveiled the economic programme he has been promising since taking office three months ago.

In a television appearance lasting almost four hours, the president dwelt on the "grave crisis, recession and widespread corruption" prevailing in the country before going on to list the reforms that were going to produce the "new Ecuador", with dynamic growth and modern management.

The two main pillars of the programme are to be a strict fiscal discipline and currency convertibility.

The economic model has been inspired by Argentina's Domingo Cavallo who in 1991, as his country's economy minister, persuaded President Carlos Menem to introduce a series of measures. While Argentina did indeed obtain results — hyperinflation brought under control, budget deficit sharply cut and growth stimulated again — the social cost of the programme was high.

In Ecuador, "currency convertibility is aimed at ensuring economic stability, lowering inflation and interest rates and doing away with exchange rate speculation", the president said. The programme will begin next July. The national currency, the sucre, will be devalued by 1,000 per cent and the exchange rate will be 4 sucres to the dollar.

It is an ambitious programme, aiming to bring inflation down to less than 10 per cent (compared with 25 per cent in 1996), and to achieve growth of between 4 and 5 per cent in 1997, rising eventually to 6 per cent (compared with 2.3 per cent today). Under the programme, the conditions of extreme poverty under which 1.5 million Ecuadorians live today are expected to disappear by 2000. The plan hopes to create 600,000 jobs during the same period.

While President Bucaram himself did not raise the issue of privatisation, his adviser Roberto Isaias hopes to raise $5 billion in two years through by selling off state enterprises: the public petroleum holding will be restructured; road and rail networks, along with ports and power companies, will be offered on a concession basis to the private sector; foreign investment, particularly in the mining sector, *will be* strongly encouraged.

This economic programme will be accompanied by constitutional reforms. Among these is a plan to replace the present unicameral national congress with a bicameral assembly, and to increase the presidential term from four to five years, along with the possibility of allowing the head of state to run for a second term.

The parliamentary opposition, on both right and left, management and labour rejected the plan to make the sucre convertible, because this would mean higher taxes as well as more expensive public services. They are also highly critical of the president's personal style. The former president, Rodrigo Borja, said he deplored the fact that "clowning has replaced democracy", a reference to President Bucaram's eccentricities.

In the capital, Quito, daily papers regularly carry accounts of the an*tics of the president, who willingly* accepts the nickname El Loco (The Madman). Since becoming president three months ago, Mr Bucaram has made a record and shaved off his moustache for a charity.

(December 5)

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Brussels pays homage to a building pioneer

Emmanuel de Roux

FITTINGLY enough, the current exhibition in Brussels devoted to the work of the Belgian architect Victor Horta (1861-1947) is showing at one of the buildings he himself designed, the Palais des Beaux-Arts.

The palace, an austere assemblage of strictly hewn blocks of stone built between 1922 and 1928, has been criticised for its neo-classical tone. Yet behind its rather unadventurous façade it combines archaism and modernity in a way that is utterly characteristic of the architect's second manner.

Horta, who had been a pioneering figure in the Art Nouveau movement, became a champion of the Art Deco style after returning from the United States at the end of the first world war. His use of glass, concrete and steel in the Palais des Beaux-Arts is rigorous and elegant.

Despite its various unwelcome additions and accretions, some of a commercial nature, it is a building that enables one to sense just how much Horta evolved during his career.

The rooms where the exhibition is being held have been restored to their pristine state. They prove that Horta, who was in his 60s when he designed the building, had lost none of his spatial skills.

Photographs, models, drawings, furniture and fragments of buildings help the visitor to chart his exceptionally long career. He adopted an all-embracing approach to his task as architect and designer. The work executed by Horta and members of his practice ranged from district planning (the Palais Royal quarter) and the construction of industrial and commercial buildings (the Innovation department store) and public utilities (Hôpital Brugmann) to the design of private homes (Hôtel Solvay, Hôtel Van Eetveld), and even interior decoration (painting, stained glass, chairs, fire tongs, banisters).

Horta was 32 years old when he designed his first major building, Hôtel Tassel, which today houses the Mexican embassy. "Twelve years of my career had gone by," he wrote in his memoirs. "All that tremendous labour was about to be rewarded. I was at last designing the kind of personal and lively architecture I wanted."

The consistency with which Horta espoused certain principles and expressed them to perfection in his work can be judged from two buildings, Hôtel Solvay and his own home in Rue Américaine (now the Musée Horta), every detail of which, including their furniture, has survived intact.



Horta's home in Brussels, now the Musée Horta, is a perfect example of his architecture and design skills

There were three architectural features that Horta abhorred: traditional stairwells, blind walls and dead angles. His staircases, which he always treated with particular care and ornamented lavishly, integrated with the building's usable space. They also enabled him to organise an interplay of perspectives from different viewpoints.

Spaces opened up and were modified by Horta's use of glazed doors. Light — which he described as "the poor man's luxury" — is allowed to pour down from the roof via wells, before being redistributed through glass partitions, amplified by mirrors or tinted by stained glass.

Horta elevated the curve to the level of an axiom. "It should be created in the heart and expressed on paper by the hand," he told his students.

He left nothing to chance. No detail was too minor for him to ignore. Every meticulously designed door-handle is different from its neighbour. He deliberately combined brickwork, mosaic and marble, and juxtaposed the most precious woods (which he never painted) with visible metal girders: his view was that materials should always be used for what they were.

Horta's earliest clients were lawyers, engineers, shopkeepers and other representatives of Brussels' wealthy business bourgeoisie. They commissioned him to design not only their own homes but also their factories and stores. The last included Innovation, a spectacular early example of a department store in Rue Neuve (which was destroyed by fire in 1967), and the headquarters of the textile firm, Tissus Waucquier, in Rue des Sables, which now houses the Centre pour la Bande Dessinée (Strip Cartoon Centre).

In 1895, Emile Vandevelde, one of the founders of the Belgian Workers' Party (POB), asked the 34-year-old Horta to design an ambitious Maison du Peuple (House of the People) on Place Joseph-Stevens (now Place Vandevelde). The building occupied an awkwardly shaped plot of land in the working-class area of Marolles. It was financed by public subscription and by donations from various benefactors.

The three-storey building, which opened in 1899, consisted of two wings surrounding a large café giving on to the street. The wings housed co-operative stores and the POB's headquarters. The top floor was taken up by a vast reception hall that could accommodate 1,500 people.

The materials used in the Maison du Peuple — brick and glass — were supported by a powerful metal structure that articulated the building's volumes. Its concave façade contained a portal reminiscent of a church porch.

Horta said he wanted "the air and light that were so long absent from workers' hovels to pour [into the building]". The Maison du Peuple is a fine example of how closely he was able to wed art to technique: the building's decoration underlines its structure and the function of its spaces.

In 1964, this very embodiment of socialist ideals was judged old-fashioned and unmanageable by the POB's successor, the Belgian Socialist Party. It decided to have it demolished and replaced by a 90-metre high tower block. As a smug party spokesmen, interviewed in a recent documentary on Horta, said by way of justification, "no one is going to turn our country into a conservatory of the past".

Although Horta is now recognised as a pioneering architect, with the result that his surviving work is safe from destruction, the past 20 years have seen the demolition of many of his industrial and commercial buildings, including a co-operative bakery on Quai de l'Industrie and the Magasins Wolfers in Rue d'Arenberg.

During his stay in the United States, Horta may have seen buildings by Frank Lloyd Wright. Whether he did or not, on his return to Belgium in 1919 he promptly sold the house he had designed and abandoned his beloved Art Nouveau credo of organic curves and ornament.

In 1925, Horta designed the Belgian pavilion at the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in Paris. It consisted of a group of interlocking cubical volumes topped by a massive clocktower — a superimposition of stark, smooth planes rather than an ensemble of modelled forms.

Horta adopted a similar approach when designing the Palais des Beaux-Arts, the construction of which was held up more than once. It was to be his last major undertaking. But he devoted much thought to the restructuring of central Brussels.

Horta the precursor may thus have become, unwittingly, the man who set the seal of decline on the capital's city planning authority he had himself helped to set up.

Before his death in 1947 he was able to complete his plans for a central railway station that would connect the Nord and Midi termini. To effect the connection, the city planners had no compunction in cutting a swath straight through the capital's urban fabric, thus effectively dividing it in two. A drab administrative complex was built on the ruins.

Later, as Brussels' ambitions to become the capital of Europe gathered momentum, steel and glass buildings regarded by "decision-makers" as the *ne plus ultra* of modernity mushroomed on the ruins of the capital's older districts amidst a riot of urban expressways.

A tiny and largely pedestrianised historic quarter has just about survived around Grand-Place, but in less central areas like Saint-Gilles and Léopold mass destruction continues apace. Horta's buildings — or rather the lucky ones that have managed to survive the demolition squads — are now protected, but the urban environment in which they saw the light of day is fast vanishing for ever.

Victor Horta, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels. Closed Monday. Until January 5

(November 20)

Cendrars's lost masterpiece uncovered

Valérie Cadet

FOR almost 90 years La Légende de Novgorod — the mere mention of which makes serious fans of the poet, novelist and globetrotter Blaise Cendrars prick up their ears — had an apocryphal air about it: no library possessed a copy of the work, nor had anyone ever claimed to have seen or read it.

All that was known was that, in theory, La Légende de Novgorod was published in 1907 in Moscow, with a print run of 14, and that it was the first work by a 20-year-old Swiss writer, Frédéric Sauser, who later took the pen name of Blaise Cendrars and became a naturalised Frenchmen. However, in view of the fact that Cendrars was a notorious mythomaniac, many doubted the existence of the book.

But chance can play strange tricks. Last December, the Bulgarian poet Kiril Kadiisky — who has, among other things, translated and published the poems of Charles Baudelaire and Guillaume Apollinaire in Bulgarian — visited a junk shop in Sofia.

As he was rummaging idly through a cardboard box, his attention was caught by a badly battered book whose title page, in Russian, read: "Frédéric Sauser, Légende de Novgorod, translated from the French, R R, Moscow-St-Petersburg, 1907."

It was not until last May that Miriam Cendrars, the writer's daughter and biographer, was informed of Kadiisky's incredible find in a letter from a friend in Skopje, the Macedonian capital.

A few more months elapsed before the Bulgarian poet provided Miriam Cendrars and Claude Leroy, a specialist and publisher of Cendrars's work, tangible proof of the existence of La Légende de Novgorod. It is a small square volume consisting of 16 discoloured pages (two of which are missing) printed in Cyrillic characters. The title on its paper cover consists of handwritten white-on-black lettering.

La Légende de Novgorod is a long poem written in free verse which, although the very first published work by the writer who was later to befriend and influence Henry Miller, has a most unusual modernity, given the year in which it was written.

When Cendrars drew up bibliographies of his own works, he almost always included the poem in them, sometimes calling it La Légende de Novgorod(e), and sometimes Novgorod(e), La Légende de l'Or Gris et du Silence (The Legend Of White Gold And Silence). He marked it as "for restricted sale only" or, more frequently, "out of print". As the years went by, Cendrars provided successive interviewers with varying details of the work's publication date and length.

It was in Le Lotissement du Ciel (Heaven's Plot) in 1949 that Cendrars gave the greatest amount of information concerning La Légende de Novgorod. In it, he recalled an old librarian, an engaging figure described only as "RR", who had given him advice on what to read and encouraged him to write when he was not yet 20 years old.

The librarian, an "expert linguist . . . to whom I had been so bold as to give my first manuscript, and who had had the patience to translate it without my knowledge and the generosity to publish it at his own expense, used up his last remaining savings before his death so he could give me a huge surprise and encourage me."

Cendrars went on to say that he possessed neither a manuscript copy of that "story of the Nizhni Novgorod fair, a kind of comic and heroic epic", nor a copy of it printed by Sozonof. One suspects that he would have been tickled pink by the news that a facsimile edition of La Légende de Novgorod in Russian, along with a French translation, is shortly to be published by Fata Morgana.

(November 19)

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Clinton Taps Albright for Cabinet Post

Peter Baker and John F. Harris

WITH ONE eye on the history books and the other on a Republican Congress, President Clinton last week nominated U.N. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright to be the first woman to serve as secretary of state and Sen. William S. Cohen to be defense secretary and the first Republican in his Cabinet.

Clinton also tapped national security adviser Anthony Lake to take over as CIA director for his second term and promoted Lake's deputy, Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger, to replace him at the White House.

Clinton settled on his choices after personally agonizing through a month-long, hurry-up-and-wait process in which new frontrunners seemed to emerge every week. In the end, the personnel shuffle served a pair of political purposes: muting criticism from some feminist activists, after women strongly favored him in his reelection, and reaching out to the GOP congressional leaders he will have to work with for at least two more years.

Albright's rise was all the more remarkable because early on she was described as a "second-tier" candidate behind others with less experience but more personal rapport with Clinton. Now the tough-minded diplomat whose family escaped the Nazis in Czechoslovakia is slated to become the highest-ranking woman in the history of the United States, fourth in the line of succession to the presidency itself.

Cohen, a moderate with a famously independent streak who is retiring after 24 years in Congress, propelled himself to the top of the military hierarchy on the strength of his job interview. Long enamored with the idea of including a Republican in his inner circle, Clinton developed a personal chemistry with the part-time poet and spy novelist during several recent meetings.

Surrounded by his new lieutenants during an Oval Office ceremony, Clinton was clearly taken with the pattern-breaking nature of his picks even as he downplayed the importance of their demographic qualities.

"Am I proud that I got a chance to appoint the first woman secretary of state?" Clinton asked rhetorically. "You bet I am. My mama's smiling down at me right now. But that is not why I appointed her."

Similarly, he said, "I would never have asked Senator Cohen to join the Cabinet solely because he's Republican. It would have been folly. I think he is uniquely well-qualified at this moment in history . . . So am I glad that I have a Republican in the Cabinet? Yes."

For all their novelty, though, three of the four are known commodities who served Clinton in his first term.

Albright was picked in part because Clinton believes she will aggressively defend the State Department's dwindling operations and foreign aid budgets before Congress. Cohen must figure out how to modernize weapon systems during a time of austerity. Lake takes over a CIA rocked by a recent spy scandal and somewhat unsure of its mission in the new world order.

President Chooses Diversity Over Direction

COMMENT
Dan Balz

PRESIDENT CLINTON made a dramatic statement about the importance of diversity, loyalty and personal chemistry in the construction of a second-term Cabinet. But in unveiling his new national security team last week, he left unanswered the question of where he hopes to take foreign and defense policy the next four years.

Last month, wholesale departures from his Cabinet signaled the possibility of significant changes in a second Clinton term. But after the first round of appointments, that appears more doubtful.

What was most notable about the nominations was the symbolism of choosing the first female secretary of state in America's history and the first prominent Republican in this administration. But the implicit message in last week's Oval Office ceremony was one of continuity far more than of change in foreign policy, both in personnel and in policy.

"It's not clear what it adds up to, which suggests that the president hasn't quite determined in his own mind just what the foreign policy of a second Clinton term will be," said Richard Haas, who served on the National Security Council staff during the Bush administration. "One sees in these people a host of tendencies, and as a result it's hard to know what the bottom line is."

Stephen Hess, a scholar at the Brookings Institution, said, "In the policy point of view, it doesn't suggest that he [Clinton] has a world view. It doesn't suggest that he's going to break new ground. He's picked people who do not have global views, who are not strategic, long-term thinkers."

Clinton long has prized collegiality among his top advisers, and the selection of his second-term Cabinet continues the path he blazed four years ago in putting together teams of people, rather than simply filling vacancies one by one. Madeleine K. Albright, Anthony Lake and Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger represent known quantities not only to Clinton but also even more so to each other.

Throughout the 1980s they worked together as part of a government-in-waiting, advising Democratic presidential candidates and



wrestling with the shape of a post-Vietnam policy for their party. All three proved themselves to be immensely loyal to Clinton in his first term as part of a team that included Warren Christopher as secretary of state and William J. Perry as secretary of defense.

The term was notable for the lack of tension and bureaucratic infighting that marked the national security teams in both the Reagan and Carter administrations, and the president appeared determined not to fall off track during the next four years.

It is striking that among the people under consideration for the national security team, those with reputations for abrasiveness, partisanship or prickly independence — former assistant secretary of state Richard C. Holbrooke, former Senate majority leader George J. Mitchell, D-Maine, retiring Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Georgia, and CIA director John M. Deutch — came out losers in the competition for the top jobs.

Only Cohen, a moderate Republican, comes with a reputation for independence, but the president brushed aside any concerns about that, saying, "I think a man with a creative, independent, inquiring mind is just what is needed for this team."

Clinton was drawn to Cohen in part because he represents the symbol of bipartisanship that has been a staple of the president's rhetoric since his election-night victory speech in which he spoke enthusiastically about nurturing the "vital center" of American politics. But at least one scholar who has studied presidential transitions believes that is an overvalued commodity in selecting a Cabinet, and in particular the secretary of defense.

"I think it's of marginal value," said Charles O. Jones of the University of Wisconsin. "I don't think of defense as being the center of partisanship, as far as the Pentagon and Capitol Hill. So I'm not sure that there's a problem there to be solved with that particular appointment."

But Jones added, "If Clinton thinks he's done something with that, that's important because then he's getting himself in the mood to work with this Congress. That's what I see as important, not the appointment itself."

Hess also pointed out that Cohen's views are to the left of the Republican Party today. "If he [Clinton] thinks in choosing Bill Cohen . . . that he is somehow neutralizing the Republican Senate, he must be actually puffing on those cigars."

But there were as many questions about Cohen's management skills as there were words of praise for his potential ability to help forge a bipartisan foreign and defense policy.

One clear strength in Clinton's new team will be its ability to hit the ground running in a second term, which is especially important because the fifth year of a presidency is crucial in setting a tone and getting things done.

Although Albright, Berger and Lake will fill different posts, they all are familiar enough with their new responsibilities to assure the quick start, and Cohen at least has the advantage of good relations on Capitol Hill and a broad knowledge of the department from his longtime service on the Armed Services Committee. Equally important, neither Albright nor Cohen likely will face serious problems winning quick confirmation from the Republican Senate.

Clinton's first two years in office were marked by hesitation and vacillation in foreign policy, due in part to the president's inexperience and lack of confidence on the issue. That has changed in the past two years, and the administration's foreign policy has won more praise than criticism since then.

But even with familiar faces, there are a host of questions about the new team, not least of which is whether it can articulate a world role for the United States for a skeptical — and tightfisted — Congress and a disinterested public. Nor it is clear who will emerge as the administration's leader in shaping a foreign policy that fits the requirements of the post-Cold War world. In an administration that has been criticized for its lack of a conceptual framework, Lake perhaps did more to fill this role than Christopher or Albright. Now, at the CIA, he will play a less central role in doing that.

Albright was described last week as a more forceful public communicator of U.S. policy than Christopher, and some who know her well raised questions about whether she will be more hawkish in her approach to policy. Her hawkishness on Bosnia, which was shared by Lake, helped shift administration policy in the summer of 1995.

"The danger becomes that Madeleine will leave little room for flexibility on foreign policy issues," said one Democrat who knows her well. "She likes sanctions too much. Every argument within the administration on a country that misbehaves, her answer is sanctions."

U.S. Bars Japanese 'War Criminals'

Kevin Sullivan in Tokyo

THE U.S. decision last week to bar 16 Japanese citizens from the United States for alleged war crimes committed more than 50 years ago has stirred wide reactions in Japan, from anger to appreciation.

"Not to defend what we have done, but why does the United States have to do such a nonsensical thing at this moment?" said Yukio Okamoto, a former high-ranking Foreign Ministry official who is now an international consultant. "It does not serve any constructive purpose. There is no point in dredging up old wartime stories."

Historian Kanji Nishio said the Japanese government should retaliate by barring from Japan any Americans who helped make the atomic bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Asked what the motive was for deciding now to bar the 16 Japanese for alleged crimes committed 50 years ago, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns told reporters, "All I can say is that, as you know, there has been a resurgence of interest in the United States over the last couple of decades in the interest of war crimes pertaining to Nazi Germany, but also pertaining to Japan."

The Justice Department accused the 16 men, who were not publicly identified, of performing horrific medical experiments on prisoners of war or forcing thousands of women into sexual slavery for Japanese troops.

It is the first time Japanese citizens have been placed on the Justice Department's war criminals "watch list," which contains the names of about 60,000 people, mainly suspected Nazis. U.S. officials said the Japanese names are being added now because detailed records and eyewitness accounts about individuals involved in wartime atrocities have only recently become available in Asia.

The Japanese government has made no formal response to the U.S. action. "We will be watching developments closely," said Hiroshi Hashimoto, spokesman for the Foreign Ministry.

The 16 people cited by the Justice Department were involved in two of the darkest chapters of Japanese aggression during World War II: the use of "comfort women" — who were forced to provide sex for Japanese soldiers — and the gruesome medical experiments of Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army. Until last week, the U.S. government had steered clear of these controversies.

Doctors from Unit 731, at its laboratory in the Chinese village of Harbin, in Manchuria, conducted extensive research into chemical and biological weapons, as well as the limits of the human body's endurance, on live subjects.

The U.S. government has never offered a clean explanation of why the Unit 731 officers were not prosecuted as war criminals at the end of the war. Critics have alleged that Washington covered up their crimes in return for the information gathered in their research.

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Unity Brings Power To Serb Opposition

John Pomfret in Belgrade

VUK DRASKOVIC and Zoran Djindjic are an unlikely pair to share the dream of a democratic Serbia.

Draskovic's office is festooned with icons of Orthodox saints, littered with sculptures of dead Serb generals, kings and queens. Djindjic's is barely functional, just a way station to the windowsill where he and Draskovic have addressed boisterous crowds for the past 20 days in the biggest protests in Belgrade since the Communist takeover in 1945.

Draskovic preaches to the demonstrators, plucking phrases from the epic poems of medieval Serbia. He speaks of honor, tradition, morals. Djindjic packages thoughts in pragmatic, post-modern sound bites.

Draskovic, 50, actually seems to believe in something. Djindjic, 42, has discarded causes and allies for as long as his colleagues can remember.

If Draskovic's music is Serbian folk, the smoldering rhythms and plaintive words inspired by 500 years of Turkish rule, Djindjic's is easy listening, pop tunes in English, a language he does not understand.

Draskovic and Djindjic lead the two biggest of five opposition political parties that joined this year to form the Together coalition. Their *decision to work together* after six years of bickering has transformed Serbia's long-disorganized opposition movement into something that for the first time could challenge the nine-year rule of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Together, they make one good dissident — representing two key elements of Serbia's fragmented political universe. Djindjic appeals to Serbia's well-educated middle class; Draskovic touches Serbia's peasants who live in another world, an earlier century.

"We get along, we don't overlap," Djindjic said recently when asked about his relationship with a man everybody here knows as just Vuk, which means wolf in Serbo-Croatian.

"My supporters are urban people, a modern crowd. Vuk has supporters in rural areas, people who go to church and want the monarchy to return. Vuk is in charge of emotions. I'm in charge of strategy."

Their relationship illustrates the hopes and hazards of the latest attempt to unseat Milosevic, a man widely blamed with triggering war in Croatia and Bosnia and leading Yugoslavia to economic ruin.

If the challenge is to succeed, their supporters say, Draskovic must provide the moral compass for Djindjic's pursuit of power, and force him to end his alliances with ultra-nationalists among the Bosnian Serbs. Djindjic must respond by employing his hard-nosed pragmatism to cool Draskovic's passion and to stop him and his equally passionate wife, Danica, from threatening the life of Milosevic and anybody else who gets in their way.

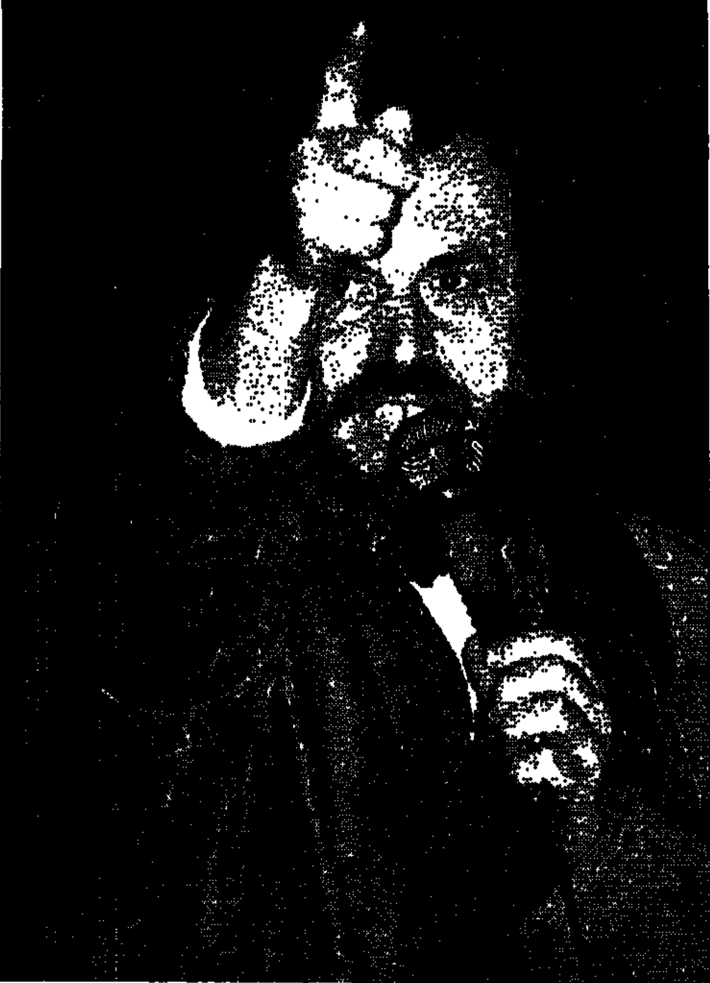
The pair must overcome other problems that have bedeviled the opposition in Serbia since Milosevic seized power in a bloodless coup in 1987. They must learn to organize, to govern and to stand for something other than a united aversion to Milosevic, their allies say.

"That is how they have defined themselves up until now," said Mihajlo Markovic, a former close aide to Milosevic. "But that will not work *if they want to run the country* or even a couple of cities."

In elections for Yugoslavia's federal parliament on November 3, Together was walloped by Milosevic's Serbian Socialist Party. But in local elections two weeks later, Together seemed to be doing well. Provisional elections results indicated that the coalition had captured 15 of Serbia's 19 biggest cities, including the capital, Belgrade.

Milosevic changed that.

In Belgrade, he used a city court to overturn an opposition victory that had been announced by the city's local election commission. In Nis, a major industrial center 160 miles southeast of the capital, Mile Ilic, the local Socialist Party boss, simply stuffed the ballot boxes to ensure a Socialist win, opposition party *officials* said. Opposition victories also were overturned elsewhere.



Opposition leader Vuk Draskovic addresses demonstrators in Belgrade during a protest march PHOTOGRAPH: EMIL VAS

The protests began in Nis and spread to Belgrade and have persisted for weeks. Milosevic appears threatened by them and by a strong international backlash against his regime.

One element that has hurt the Serbian president is that the opposition coalition has held together. An attempt last week by New Democracy, a group of businessmen and politicians close to Milosevic, to lure Draskovic away from the Together coalition failed.

A writer of best-selling novels, Draskovic led demonstrations in Belgrade in 1991 and 1992, protesting against Milosevic's government and the war in Croatia and Bosnia. After Milosevic arrested him in June 1993, he staged a hunger strike in jail. Serbian police severely beat him and his wife.

Draskovic started his party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, in 1990 and flirted with nationalism. But when war erupted in Croatia, Draskovic rejected violence, broke with his militia and criticized Milosevic's support of Serb land grabs in Croatia and Bosnia.

Among opposition leaders, Draskovic is the only one who seems wholehearted in his support of the Dayton peace accord for Bosnia. Last year, his party proposed a law that would mandate Serbia's full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

Drug Terror Fears Rise After Killings

Molly Moore in Mexico City

A MARRIED couple of Mexican journalists who had written extensively about drug smuggling were bludgeoned and slashed to death in their beds along with their three children in a gangland-style slaying that has shocked Mexico.

The brutal murders, which police said were discovered on Thursday last week in the chic Mexico City neighborhood of San Angel, raised fears that the country is moving closer to the kind of violence that drug lords once used to terrorize Colombia.

"There has been nothing like this before," said Homero Aridjis, a prominent author and commentator on current events. "This is creating an atmosphere of narco-terrorism like Colombia. People are living in terror."

Yolanda Figueroa and her lawyer-journalist husband, Fernando Balderas, were beaten to death and slashed with sharp instruments as they lay in their beds, according to police reports. Their children — aged 8, 13, and 18 — were killed in the same way, the reports said. Although the reason for the killings was not clear, police said they are investigating the possibility that the deaths were related to the couple's exposes on drugs and corruption in the Mexican government.

Mexican human rights activists and journalists' organizations said that despite the growing number of drug-related slayings in the country, this was the first time executioners have murdered family members of a journalist or other civilians who exposed the drug cartels and their operations.

"It looks like some kind of revenge or some kind of settling of accounts," city prosecutor Elias Romero Apis told Radio Red.

Narcotics smugglers in Mexico previously have carried out most of their assassinations in the U.S.-Mexican border area, where the cartels conduct most of their business. For the first time, however, the violence has begun to move to the nation's capital. Although the murders of the family of five are by far the most brutal slayings yet, four current or former anti-narcotics officials have been murdered in or near Mexico City in recent months.

Figueroa was the author of a book published last July on Gulf cartel boss Juan Garcia Abrego, once the country's dominant drug lord. In October, a Houston jury convicted him of trafficking 15 tons of cocaine into the United States.

Balderas, formerly a special adviser to Mexico City prosecutors, helped her do research for the book, which charged that the government had enough evidence to arrest Garcia Abrego three years before it extradited him to the United State in January. The book cited numerous incidents of drug-related corruption in the government.

It was dedicated to Antonio Lozano Gracia, who was fired last week from his post as Mexico's attorney general.

Xenophobia Haunts French Privatization

Anne Swardson in Paris

LIKE NEARLY all of Western Europe's social democracies, France has been selling off its state-owned companies for almost a decade. The fate of the most recent effort, however, offers a clear warning to anyone thinking of buying into France's painful privatization.

Last week, the French government said it was halting the planned sale of Thomson SA, a defense and consumer-electronics firm, because its own privatization commission had recommended against it. It was the latest twist in a long and convoluted saga.

In addition, the tale of Thomson called attention to a vein of xenophobia in France, analysts said, that may help explain its relative failure to connect financially with the wealthy nations of Asia. The debacle is sure to sour relations between France and investors around the world.

"There are two lessons from this," said Olivier Cadot, a professor at the European Institute of Business Administration. "One is that the French state will control the economy . . . The other lesson is the implication of xenophobia."

The seeds of the tempest were sown this fall, when the government asked for bids to buy its majority share of Thomson. Essentially, the defense side of Thomson was profitable and the electronics side was not. Two bids came in: one from Alcatel Alsthom, a defense firm, and the other from Lagardere Groupe, a defense and publishing enterprise. Lagardere said it would retain the defense operations and Thomson Multimedia would be spun off to the South Korean electronics firm Daewoo.

Alcatel, with lots of political connections, was considered the favorite. But on October 16, Prime Minister Alain Juppe announced that the government preferred Lagardere. Price: 1 franc, worth about 20 cents, because the firm is losing money. The governmental commission on privatization still had to approve the deal, but the assumption was it would be a rubber stamp.

Workers at Thomson Multimedia's two factories in France reacted immediately, protesting that they did not want to be owned by South Koreans, even though Daewoo had promised to create thousands of new jobs. On November 20, 20,000 Thomson workers demonstrated against the sale in front of the National Assembly, while others protested at their workplaces.

The racially tinged outcry against Daewoo was observable elsewhere too. Even such respected newspapers as Le Monde featured editorial cartoons of narrow-eyed, round-spectacled Daewoo officials; others used Chinese-looking dragons to depict Daewoo. Workers drew crude Asian faces on their T-shirts when they demonstrated.

And when the privatization commission recommended against the sale, it did so primarily because of Daewoo's role. Daewoo's offers to increase jobs and invest new money had a "unilateral character," the commission said, and could not be legally enforced. In addition, Daewoo would have access to French technology created in part with support from French taxpayers, and would receive about $2 billion that the French government was offering to sweeten the deal without being obliged to pour it all into Thomson Multimedia.

In Seoul, the reaction to the commission's decision was swift and angry. A Daewoo statement said the move was "unexpected and regretful." Chairman Bae Soon Hoon said the company would try to find out the "real reason" for the decision, and a South Korean Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the government "would like to know whether the commission's opinion was based on economic factors or public opposition."

Finance Minister Jean Arthuis said last week he hopes to sell Thomson by spring. But the first effort left analysis wondering whether France really could part with Thomson.

"The French have been raised and educated with the thought that they collectively owned these industries," said Michel Fleuriet, president of Merrill Lynch France. "They were as proud of those industries as they were of the cathedrals. You don't sell the cathedrals, and you don't sell Thomson, certainly not for 1 franc and certainly not to the Koreans."

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Power in Guatemala 'Shifts to Civilians'

John Ward Anderson in Guatemala City

ELECTED civilian leaders appear to have gained authority over old-line army generals in Guatemala for the first time in 42 years and are on the verge of signing a peace accord that would end Central America's last and longest civil war.

The shift of authority to President Alvaro Arzu and his government, as reported by a range of informed sources here, marks a turning point in a country where generals long have been the ultimate rulers, either overtly through military dictatorships or by discreetly pulling strings.

Since taking office in January, Arzu apparently has achieved the improbable by returning the military to its barracks — firing the top-ranking generals and replacing them with younger officers more in tune with democracy, the sources say. That he did it in only 10 months underscores how political dynamics have changed in Central America, once a front line in the Cold War, and how war-weary Guatemala's 10.7 million people have become.

Defense Minister Julio Balconi Turcios said in an interview earlier this year that the army "believes these changes are necessary. The army should be prepared to defend the country, to carry out the special mission of protecting its sovereignty and the integrity of its territory."

Rather than internal-security operations, Balconi said, "This will be the fundamental mission of the army in the future."

Nonetheless, some observers said, the army retains the potential to exert enormous influence and may still consider itself the final guarantor of the country's welfare.

"The peace process has not ensured that the military is no longer involved in Guatemala's politics, economy, culture and development," said Rachel Garst, an analyst with the Washington Office on Latin America who lives in Guatemala. "Arzu is making more serious attempts than previous presidents to establish civilian control, but I don't think he's succeeded yet."

"The military appears much weaker, but it continues to be a very powerful sector of society," said Carlos Aldana, a spokesman for the Roman Catholic archbishop's office. "We will have to wait a year or two to see if the weakening is real."

Guatemala has been under nearly continuous military control since 1954, when the CIA sponsored a coup that overthrew the country's popularly elected, left-wing government. Guerrilla warfare began six years later. Even after elections restored civilian leadership in 1985, the military was still in charge behind the scenes and the president and Congress served at the will of the generals.

But in two rounds of purges — the first just five days after taking office — Arzu sacked 13 of the army's 23 generals and numerous colonels, some accused of committing human-rights abuses during the country's 36-year civil war. In recent years, many of the officers allegedly engaged in drug smuggling, car theft and other rackets.

"Arzu has stepped in and consolidated civilian control over the military by purging the top ranks and putting younger men in the high command who understand where the country needs to move in order to grow into a democracy," said Rachel McCleary, executive director of the Institute on Central America at Johns Hopkins University. "It was basically a beheading of the military."

Analysts said that as civil wars ended and national armies scaled back their powers in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras, Guatemala's army leaders realized that their institution, too, had to change.

Younger officers saw reform not only as an opportunity to modernize their force. It was also a way to advance their own careers by getting rid of old guard leaders tainted by human-rights atrocities committed during the conflict.



Voluntary Defence Committee members stand for the national anthem at a disarming ceremony in Aguacatan, 75 miles northwest of the capital, Guatemala City PHOTOGRAPH: SCOTT SADY

In March, Arzu — the first Guatemalan president to meet with rebel leaders — ordered the army to end counterinsurgency, and a complete cease-fire has held for almost nine months. As part of a military accord signed in September, the 45,000-man army agreed to cut its manpower by one-third next year, reduce its budget by a third by 1999, submit soldiers to civilian courts for civil crimes, and redefine its mission to ban internal-security operations and answer to civilian authority, including a civilian defense minister.

Two weeks ago, Arzu announced that a permanent peace accord will be signed on December 29, ending a civil war in which Guatemala compiled one of the most-brutal human-rights records in the hemisphere. Over 36 years, more than 100,000 people were killed, another 40,000 people disappeared and are presumed dead, and more than 440 villages were destroyed in the army's campaign to wipe out communities sympathetic to the guerrillas.

By some estimates, the war created more than 200,000 orphans and 80,000 widows and displaced more than 1 million people from their homes. Most of the victims were from the indigenous groups that make up about 60 percent of the population.

Under the peace accords the government already has agreed to new programs that will cost as much as $2.7 billion over the next three years. With an annual budget of about $1.85 billion, the government seeks $1.7 billion in aid.

The war left the country with weak and corrupt institutions, observers said, and it must develop a new police force capable of investigating crimes and a justice system willing to hold people accountable. Of particular concern is a crime wave that could provide a pretext for keeping the army involved in police matters.

Discrimination has contributed to the impoverishment of the Indians, most of whom are descendants of the Mayans. And negotiators for the government and the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity rebel group have yet to tackle the thorny issue of whether and how to punish rebel and army combatants for the war's murderous excesses.

"This is not the end of anything, it's the beginning of everything," said attorney Edmond Mulet. "These are issues that have belonged to us for generations. This is not ideology that will disappear because a wall in Berlin fell down. Today, the army knows that any rebellion or coup attempt will not be successful."

Nonetheless, according to Garst, the analyst with the Washington Office on Latin America, Arzu's administration has relied heavily on the army's intelligence division to stem military and government corruption and to combat the crime problem. "The military intelligence apparatus is still functioning and the army is being drawn into crime-fighting, which is strengthening it," she said.

"Arzu has character, and that's important, but the army still has a lot of power," said Karen Fischer, a leading human-rights activist here. "I don't think the army is controlling him, but he has to respect it."

A Sensitive Canada Renames Its Places

Howard Schneider in Toronto

THE NEARLY naked Indian is being removed from Ottawa's monument honoring Champlain, Jews in Quebec want the name of an antisemitic cleric stripped from a subway station, and the name of Chinaman Lake has been banished in British Columbia.

Travelers in the Yukon, likewise, won't be using Jack London Road when they enter Whitehorse. London, it turns out, said some not very flattering things about Canada's Indians following his adventures during the gold rush, so he won't have a road named in his honor.

For a nonimperialist, un-intrusive, good-guy nation, Canada is still finding plenty of public symbols to sanitize out of sensitivity to Indians and other ethnic groups. Although the country has never started wars, didn't allow slavery and in modern times elevated multiculturalism to official policy, its largely European sensibility tattooed the landscape with plenty of notions now deemed politically incorrect. That legacy is being erased bit by bit.

"It is in the Canadian nature to be sensitive to others," said Kathy Watson, the mayor of Whitehorse, which was planning to name one of its main streets after London before members of the local Indian community raised questions about the writer's racial attitudes.

Joe Jack, chief of the Kwanlin Dun First Nation, said members of tribes in the Yukon and elsewhere are sensitive to geographical names. Traditionally, they were used to link features of the landscape with tribal history or stories. Modern, European names should not be insulting, he said, which is how members of the Kwanlin Dun viewed the naming of the road after London.

"Some people were saying that the bias or the personal feelings or attitudes of people a hundred years ago should not be taken to heart at this late date," Jack said. The Kwanlin Dun, however, cited personal letters in which London appeared to advocate white superiority. Although the evidence was disputed by London aficionados, who argue that the writer was relatively progressive for his era, Watson said the issue was sensitive enough to cause the town to drop its plans and search for ways to use London's name and Yukon legacy in a way that would not offend the Kwanlin Dun.

"I can see where there is lots of room for progress in appreciating the challenges of racial groups and minorities," Watson said. "If we look at the way places and things have been named, there is a hugely European influence . . . I would suspect that this could be an issue in any town or any territory or province."

In Canada, the issue reflects a heightened sensitivity to the feelings of groups that create what the country thinks of as its "mosaic" of identities — a metaphor it prefers to the American melting pot.

Chinaman Lake in British Columbia did not originate in a slur, said Janet Mason, the province's toponymist, but in honor of several settlers of Chinese descent who had frozen and died while wintering there. However, Mason said, "that particular word apparently has not stood the test of time."

She said her agency will discuss what to call the lake and several other geographical features carrying the Chinaman name. A possibility, she said, is to research who the settlers were and use their names.

Similarly, the Indian figure kneeling at the base of Samuel de Champlain's statue in Ottawa was added several years after the original was erected to reflect the explorer's use of native guides. But the guide's subservient position to "The First Great Canadian" — as the French explorer and founder of Quebec is called in the monument — annoyed local Indian leaders.

The National Capital Commission recently agreed to remove the scout and hopes, through negotiations with Assembly of First Nations leaders, to incorporate it in a new monument in a way they find acceptable.

In Montreal, meanwhile, the debate over symbolism is being prosecuted on two fronts — by members of the Jewish community in a campaign against the Lionel Groulx subway station and by the government of Quebec against Anglo-Canada's royal representative in the province, the lieutenant governor.

Groulx, a priest, was a leading intellectual force of Quebec nationalism. He died in 1967 and was honored in the naming of a main Montreal subway station. Recent scholarship has documented that Groulx's writings were laced with antisemitism, and local Jewish groups want his name stricken from the station. The request is pending with Quebec's transit authorities.

The question is being raised at a time when debate over past sins is at a high pitch in Montreal. Two Quebec officials, including a judge, are under scrutiny following recent revelations that they participated in the separatist violence of the 1960s and early '70s. And the province's federally appointed lieutenant governor, *Jean-Louis Roux*, resigned after acknowledging in an interview that he had drawn a swastika on his lab coat while in medical school in the 1940s and participated in rallies that ended in anti-Jewish vandalism.

The Quebec National Assembly and Premier Lucien Bouchard used the event to make their own statement about Canada's symbols. After Roux's resignation they reiterated calls for the federal government to abolish the lieutenant governor's post as a waste of money and a remnant of English colonialism.

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Onward Christian Soldiers

Elizabeth McNamer

SISTERS IN ARMS: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia
By Jo Ann Kay McNamara
Harvard University Press. 751pp. $35

POVERTY, CHASTITY AND CHANGE
By Carole Garibaldi Rogers
Twayne. 323pp. $28.95



ILLUSTRATION: THORINA ROSE

SISTERS IN ARMS is undoubtedly the definitive work on nuns. The book (644 pages, with another 100 pages of footnotes and bibliography) covers 2,000 years of Catholic women's search for holiness in the celibate life. Jo Ann Kay McNamara parades the seekers from Mary Magdalen to Sister Mary Theresa Kane, and she does it with a scholar's eye for detail, a Catholic's nostalgia, and a raconteur's penchant for entertainment.

Soldiers indeed these women were and are. Disciplined by chastity, they fight on a dense battlefield. They hone themselves on syneisactism (males and females living in intimate circumstances while observing a hands-off stance), refresh themselves in the balm of castimony (sacred marriage to Christ), joust with hedonism. Their shibboleth is prayer, their battle-dress poverty and obedience.

Sisters in arms march along the rocky roads of the Roman empire, where holiness for women is equated with "manliness"; through medieval quagmires, where they sink in the mud of male domination; through the dangerous byroad of the French Revolution, where they were defenseless against "wild worldly men" and hundreds lost their heads to the guillotine; to the broader highways of the new world, where femininity became a value in its own right and the feminine apostolate reached full vigor. It has not been a march for the fainthearted.

Century by century McNamara presents them: women from Galilee (who supported the "little band of vagabonds"), deaconesses, hermits, sanctimonials, canonesses, conversae, beguines, anchorites, abbesses, witches and mystics. Stealthily, we enter the sacred and secluded halls of Quedlinberg, Bingen, Amesbury, the Paraclete and glimpse the occupants. But those glimpses are titillating and make us want to keep on reading.

For all that, there is an over-concentration on the anomalies. Tales of nuns who dressed as monks to spend their lives in monasteries, produced children fathered by kings, served in public bordellos, and leaned so close to priests in confession that "two heads were in one hood" take up a good portion of the pages. One wonders at times if this is a book about sexual aberrations. The descriptions of double monasteries, the colorful conduct of the nuns of Watton, and the incorrigible nuns of Lincoln make for provocative stuff. The ecstasies experienced by the ladies of Carmel and the flagellations practiced by the sisters of Toss (who "regularly took turns at beating one another") have definite erotic overtones. The narration of the tales of nuns married to monks (but not living together) and the part about the scamps who had "little drinking parties" in their rooms will cause a few raised eyebrows.

But we read little of the daily lives of nuns (except where they complain of the restrictions of the Benedictine rule). Nor do we learn much about their education. Hildegard of Bingen and Theresa of Avila are given good coverage, but too little is said of Heloise's heroic attempts to teach Greek and Hebrew to her charges. And Julian of Norwich, that most wise of women, is ignored altogether.

McNAMARA is at her most serious when discussing the modern age and looking to the future. She writes clearly, sympathetically and succinctly of the challenges and changes in nuns' lives, particularly in this century. She is optimistic that these soldiers of Christ will continue, albeit in a different uniform and with new rules in a battlefield where they are more than ever needed.

Carole Garibaldi Rogers's Poverty, Chastity And Change considers nuns as an endangered species. They were 173,351 strong in the United States in 1961. By 1992 the number had dwindled to 99,337.

The book is the result of 94 oral interviews conducted with women who had entered the "religious" life of the Roman Catholic Church prior to Vatican Council II. Rogers seeks to disabuse the public of the image of the nun as depicted in the entertainment industry. And succeed she does.

Her interviews were taped between 1991 and 1995, some 30 years after the summoning of the Council (and, coincidentally, the start of the Women's Liberation Movement) that would radically change the lifestyles of women. Nuns then dressed in "habits", lived in communities that had regularly scheduled times for prayer, and spent most of their working lives teaching or nursing. The habits have long been discarded; many nuns now live in their own apartments or with one or two companions, and have schedules that leave little time for prayer. Their careers span the gamut from social workers, marriage counselors, parish ministers, playwrights, artists and musicians, to college professors, lawyers and doctors.

The nuns' stories are touching, open, sometimes quite outrageous and with rare exceptions told with a sense of loyalty to and love for Mother Church. The subject of women's ordination is mentioned by a few but does not loom large (Sister Theresa Kane feels she was given too high a profile when she addressed the Pope on the issue in 1979). Most express optimism for the future and over and over again say that they would make the same decision to embrace the ideals of poverty, chastity and obedience that drew them to the convent in the first place. All see their new lives as much more fulfilling and the relaxation of the rules as humane.

This is a book about confidence and hope. The average age of nuns may be 65, but somewhere, somehow, one feels that others will come and make the darkness grow brighter again. As Tennyson reminds us, "The old order changeth yielding place to new, and God fulfills himself in many ways lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

Males, Monkeys and Mayhem

Daniel Pinchbeck

DEMONIC MALES: Apes and the Origins of Human Violence
By Richard Wrangham and Dale Peterson
Houghton Mifflin. 350pp. $24.95

WARS, genocides, rapes and riots are the unhappy legacy of human history, activities seemingly coded into human nature itself. Can anything interrupt this seemingly endless cycle of victims and victimizers? According to Richard Wrangham and Dale Peterson, evolutionary biologists and the authors of Demonic Males, the answer to that question lies several million years in the past, when humans distinguished themselves from their nearest primate relatives, taking their first steps out of the African jungle on the way to language, culture and the atomic bomb.

As Demonic Males reveals, human beings and chimpanzees are more than just country cousins. The DNA of humans is 99 percent identical to that of chimpanzees. We are, in fact, related more closely to chimpanzees than chimpanzees are to gorillas. According to the authors, chimpanzees and other ape species that seem to have changed little in 10 or even 15 million years can be viewed as "time machines," taking us back to the origins of behavior that we now consider uniquely human.

It was only 20 years ago when researchers learned that one aspect of this shared behavior is the proclivity of adult male chimps to attack, maim and kill other adult male chimpanzees whom they discover near their territory. In ways that eerily suggest human behavior, life for male chimpanzees is a continual jockeying for status and power. The "alpha male" of any group gets the lion's share of female attention as well as the grudging respect of his subordinates. Male chimpanzees also routinely batter females into submission, proving their sexual dominance through violent displays and occasional rapes.

Aggressive genetic strategies acquired over millions of years are slow to fade away. Even the cheering of the masses at sports events or patriotic rallies can be connected to our primate inheritance, demonstrating the individual's biologically determined readiness to sacrifice or extend himself for the greater social good.

Such male aggression has structured the lives of humans as well as chimpanzees for thousands of generations. Every human society has been patriarchal, with men retaining most of the dominant spots in the hierarchy and using their power to control women and annihilate their enemies. Yet they do not believe that this means the future is a closed book. Evolution means continual adaptation and change, and the authors hold a rational faith that "to find a better world we must look not to a romanticized and dishonest dream forever receding into the primitive past, but to a future that rests on a proper understanding of ourselves."

However, it is in a vestige of that primitive past that the authors find what could be the key to a more harmonious human future. Living just across the Zaire River from their near relations, the chimpanzees, can be found the bonobo, a gentler, smarter and in every way better-mannered ape, dedicating their lives to peace, love and, above all, sex. "Bonobos use sex for much more than making babies," the authors note. "They have sex as a way of making friends. They have sex to calm someone who is tense. They have sex as a way to reconcile after aggression." When a bonobo group meets a group of unknown bonobos, they generally mate and socialize with them rather than try to kill them.

Wrangham and Peterson theorize that slight changes in food sources and feeding patterns several million years ago allowed the bonobos to stay together in larger communities on their side of the river, unlike chimpanzees, who must break off into small parties to hunt for their favorite fruit and meat sources. In these larger and more stable groups, female bonobos were able to form permanent social bonds and resist the aggressive urges of the males. Female bonobos evolved to hide their ovulation patterns, which put them more in control of their biological destinies.

The authors of Demonic Males suggest that, as it was with the bonobos, the potential for future human harmony lies in the increasing power of the female. It is, of course, equally possible to imagine scientists with a more Machiavellian outlook arguing that our genes were designed to remain selfish, our appetites voracious, and our tendencies violent, but over that pessimistic stance I would choose Wrangham and Peterson's outlook any day.

Non–fiction

Hardcovers

Mark My Words: Mark Twain on Writing, edited by Mark Dawidziak (St. Martin's, $17.95).

MARK TWAIN isn't just one of the best writers the United States has produced; he's also one of the most quotable. Twain famously had a gift for plain-spoken humor and biting observations, the more literary-minded of which are collected here. Twain's definition of a classic: "A book which people praise and don't read." To an editor he didn't like: "You have a singularly fine and aristocratic disrespect for homely and unpretending English. Every time I use 'go back' you get out your polisher and slick it up to 'return'." On newspaper editors: "I am not an editor of a newspaper, and shall always try to do right and be good, so that God will not make me one." On Jane Austen: "Every time I read Pride And Prejudice I want to dig her up and beat her over the head with her own shinbone." He also had some choice words for Sir Walter Scott, George Eliot and James Fenimore Cooper, whose Deerslayer he called "a literary delirium tremens."

This Noble Land: My Vision for America, by James A. Michener (Random House, $23).

IF YOU DOUBT James Michener's qualifications for writing a book about the future of America, he has laid out his credentials for you in the first 10 pages of this book: He was born into poverty, was raised in an orphanage, hitchhiked across the country at age 14, wrote "a series of comprehensive novels" about his country (among them Hawaii and Chesapeake), established residences in seven states, and taught American history at numerous schools. "Sitting in my Texas garden as I approach my ninetieth birthday," he writes, "I often reflect upon my life in the United States," and in this book he sets out to tell us his observations on our progress as a nation. Along the way, he addresses our problems of race, poverty, health care, male chauvinism, art, divorce and so on. In sum, this is a book-length essay on the often worrying, often inspiring course of America in the nine decades of Michener's life.

Various Positions: A Life of Leonard Cohen, by Ira B. Nadel (Pantheon, $26).

POET AND songwriter Leonard Cohen is a Canadian whose greatest success has been in the United States, a Jew who has practiced Zen Buddhism for decades, a self-styled comic writer whose work strikes most listeners as hauntingly pensive. This biography includes the story of how Cohen collaborated retroactively with director Robert Altman on McCabe And Mrs. Miller. Altman wrote the script, he said, while listening to Cohen's songs. When Altman called Cohen for permission to use his music in the soundtrack, Cohen had just seen Altman's film Brewster McCloud. "Listen," Cohen told Altman, "I just came out of the theater. I saw it twice; you can have anything of mine you want." Cohen didn't like McCabe when he saw a rough cut; but when he saw it again with his music included, he changed his mind completely.

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How Greenspan put the markets in a spin

Paul Murphy

A STARK warning from America's top financial official that overpriced stock markets were like a bubble waiting to burst triggered panic selling across world stock markets on Friday last week.

At one stage up to $40 billion was wiped off shares in the FTSE-100 index but this was later reduced to $22.5 billion.

Tremors in markets, which began in Japan overnight, spread across Europe during the day and then only began to subside later in New York, were set off by the Federal Reserve chairman, Alan Greenspan, when he told an audience at the American Enterprise Institute enthusiasm for shares amounted to "irrational exuberance" among investors.

Economists and market strategists immediately interpreted Mr Greenspan's remarks as a willingness to raise rates, whatever the repercussions in the American stock market, where the Dow Jones has jumped more than 30 per cent this year. With traders in London also reacting to the turmoil enveloping the Tory party over its European policy, the FTSE plummeted almost 170 points at one stage.

Some observers suggested that Mr Greenspan may have deliberately provoked the panic: one of the most respected "Fed watchers" on Wall Street, David Jones of Aubrey G Lanston, suggested that Mr Greenspan had acted now to avoid the danger of a more serious crash later.

The US treasury secretary, Robert Rubin, was attempting to calm nerves in the financial markets last Sunday, playing down Mr Greenspan's statement. Mr Rubin said the central bank chief was merely raising a question about the level of the stock market and not necessarily voicing an opinion about whether US shares were too high.



Greenspan . . . intensely private man who enjoys a towering reputation in financial circles PHOTOGRAPH: ROBERT TRIPPETT

Richard Thomas in Washington

WHEN Alan Greenspan stood up at a black-tie dinner and warned of "irrational exuberance", everyone knew that he wasn't talking about himself.

While no one doubts the power wielded by the 70-year-old head of America's central bank — confirmed after his words on the over-pricing of stock markets prompted mass selling from Tokyo to Wall Street — few would put him top of their party list.

Bill Clinton might, though. Mr Greenspan is the man who took the president's 1992 campaign sound-bite — "it's the economy, stupid" — and turned it into a programme that delivered steady growth, low inflation, falling unemployment, and a second presidential term.

An intensely private man, Mr Greenspan sits in the chairman's office at the Federal Reserve poring over the numbers. In an economy as big and as diverse as the US, it is one of the great mysteries of finance that he can turn the welter of data into policy advice.

To the amazement of the markets he never seems to put a foot wrong and so has attained almost mythical status. When he talks in his dour drawl, the world listens.

But his range is limited. One central banker says: "He simply has no small talk at all. There is no point discussing sport or the weather. But mention productivity in the Wisconsin service sector, and he comes alive."

Friends sometimes despair of a man who relaxes by wrestling with knotty economics and maths problems. His old pal Robert Kavesh, an academic, once said: "Sometimes you just want to say 'Damn it Alan, tell me a dirty joke. Or at least listen to one.'"

But it is Mr Greenspan's passion for economics and finance — combined with a career including some commodity trading and industrial analysis — that underpins his towering presence in the financial markets.

A life-long Republican who went to the same high school as Henry Kissinger, Mr Greenspan's market credibility has made him indispensable to Mr Clinton — surprising many Washington pundits, who thought his tenure would be curtailed after the 1992 Democratic win.

In part, this is because he has sustained a healthy economic recovery, simultaneously fending off hawkish calls for monetary tightening and keeping the markets sweet by talking tough.

He also shares a surprising ability with the president: both men play jazz saxophone. After studying at the Juilliard School of Music, Mr Greenspan spent a year in the Forties touring with Henry Jerome's swing band.

He never had to worry whether to inhale: while the rest of the band hit the bars — and the pot — he methodically completed the group's accounts and read economics. "He never even took a drink," recalls Mr Jerome.

His first job was as a steel industry analyst and he retains his interest in the real economy.

Raised by his mother in Washington Heights, New York, Mr Greenspan came to economics late. After his Juilliard and jazz days, he returned to college — the New York University — to get his degree.

It was only after he had been appointed chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in 1974 that he managed to finish his doctorate, which he saw as an essential qualification for any self-respecting economist.

Some politicians have become frustrated by Mr Greenspan's ability to use wonk-speak to avoid saying anything. His twice-yearly appearances before Congress often leave legislators and traders none the wiser about his thinking, which is just the way he likes it.

"You wouldn't want Alan Greenspan to write the instructions for assembling a beach chair," says former Gerald Ford speechwriter Robert Orben. And Manhattan economist Jeremy Gluck famously joked that the Fed boss's headstone would read: "I am guardedly optimistic about the next world, but remain cognizant of the downside risk."

He has learnt the art of obfuscation on the job: in 1974, when he was an adviser to Gerald Ford, he said all too clearly that Wall Street bond traders, not the poor, were the real victims of the recession — joy for headline writers.

Mr Greenspan's natural scepticism has allowed him to remain outside the reach of hardline economic theorists of both the monetarist and Keynesian schools. "He makes his decisions based on an objective assessment of what is happening in the economy, not by reference to old theories," says Scott Pardee, a former Fed economist who now advises New York broker, Yamaichi.

Mr Greenspan himself has said: "I am not a Keynesian. I am not a monetarist. I am a free-enterpriser."

But Republicans on Capitol Hill are suspicious of his relationship with the Democrats. They contrast the recession of 1990/91, which scuppered George Bush's hopes of re-election, with the softer handling of the economy during Mr Clinton's term. Their discontent is finding an outlet in attacks on the Federal Reserve's lack of accountability — a coded criticism of the chairman's dominance.

Although he usually relies on his powers of persuasion, Mr Greenspan — the product of a broken home — has a tough side too. "We went through the torture of the damned to get inflation down in the 1970s," he told council members when he wanted to tighten policy, according to Fed insiders. Fortunately for him, his calls then were right.

Three years from now Mr Greenspan will complete his third term at the Fed. Whether he stays or goes, the basic decisions about interest rates will be the same. "Monetary policy never ends," he told the Senate banking committee last year. "It's like the luggage carousels in the airports."

Old campaigners fight on for pension rights

Ian Wylie

A CAMPAIGN to end discrimination against Britain's forgotten pensioners living abroad suffered a setback as it was disclosed last week that war pensions are set to be cut by £50 million.

More than 700,000 British pensioners live abroad, many of them war veterans. But more than half have had their pensions frozen as a result of a bureaucratic anomaly. Representatives of expatriate pensioners were due to put their case to the Social Security Select Committee this week, chaired by Labour MP Frank Field.

But while the Select Committee is likely to recommend an end to the discrimination when it makes its report in January, campaigners now believe the Government will not pay the £255 million price.

In a handful of countries, notably Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, expatriate pensioners have had their pensions frozen at the level they were when they left Britain. Last week the Chancellor raised the UK pension entitlement to £62.45 a week from next April, but a British pensioner who retired to one of the Commonwealth countries in 1968 would still be receiving just £4.50 a week.

About 300,000 British pensioners in other countries have their pensions index-linked so they receive the full UK state pension. The anomaly arises because Britain has yet to sign a reciprocal agreement with countries such as Australia or South Africa for crediting and uprating social security benefits.

Around 250 MPs signed a Commons motion last month calling on the Government to increase pensions to expatriates. The Government's only objection is cost: it says up-rating the pensions of all expatriates would cost £255 million a year.

Campaigners say that they won't settle for anything less than full indexation. "There is a point of principle here," says Brian Havard, president of the British-Australia Pensioner Association. "If you have paid the same national contributions as someone living in the UK, you should receive the same pension."

With less than five months before a general election, expatriate campaigners are crossing their fingers for a change of government: the majority of MPs who have signed Tory MP Winston Churchill's Early Day Motion are Labour backbenchers. "[Social security minister] Peter Lilley has become so hardened, that he will never give in," says Mr Havard. "Tony Blair will not commit himself to spending the money to end the discrimination, but we think he may at least allow the issue to go to a free vote in the Commons."

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling rates December 9	Sterling rates December 2
Australia	2.0511-2.0533	2.0577-2.0614
Austria	18.03-18.05	18.27-18.29
Belgium	52.85-52.92	53.58-53.63
Canada	2.2312-2.2331	2.2777-2.2799
Denmark	9.81-9.82	9.94-9.95
France	8.66-8.66	8.81-8.82
Germany	2.5832-2.5855	2.5972-2.5998
Hong Kong	12.73-12.74	13.02-13.03
Ireland	0.9952-0.9972	1.0001-1.0019
Italy	2,523-2,525	2,552-2,556
Japan	186.58-186.77	191.58-191.79
Netherlands	2.8755-2.8782	2.9146-2.9172
New Zealand	2.3326-2.3353	2.3657-2.3689
Norway	10.70-10.70	10.62-10.63
Portugal	258.76-258.96	261.61-261.85
Spain	215.70-215.84	218.78-218.99
Sweden	11.26-11.28	11.31-11.33
Switzerland	2.1866-2.1893	2.2117-2.2146
USA	1.6470-1.6478	1.6842-1.6852
ECU	1.3270-1.3285	1.3431-1.3444

FTSE100 Share index down 21.9 at 4011.4. FTSE 250 index down 39.5 at 4388.0. Gold down $2.50 at $369.50.

In Brief

THE European Commission's anti-trust authorities have dismissed the conditions set by the UK government for British Airways' alliance with American Airlines as too weak. UK trade secretary Ian Lang had said he would wave through the tie-up if the two carriers gave up 168 'slots' at Heathrow airport.

MARY WALZ, aged 36, the banker who claimed $800,000 after she was sacked by the collapsed merchant bank Barings, has lost her legal battle for the bonus.

ALAN BOND, the former Australian billionaire businessman, has admitted his part in what prosecutors have called the country's biggest case of corporate fraud. The British-born 58-year-old pleaded guilty in the West Australian supreme court to two counts of acting dishonestly and with intent to defraud.

LIQUIDATORS of the BCCI bank are to give creditors 24.5 cents in the dollar on the debt in a $1.35 billion payout, the first since the bank was shut five years ago with debts of more than $10 billion.

BRITISH GAS has signalled it is prepared to trade all or part of its prize UK production asset, the Morecambe Bay gas fields, to rid itself of crippling take-or-pay contracts.

GRANADA Group is to sell its George V hotel in Paris to Prince Al Waleed Bin Talal of Saudi Arabia for $167 million.

THE UK treasury collected $413 million when it sold most of the Government's remaining stakes in British Energy, National Grid and Scottish Power.

BASS'S bid to buy a half share of Carlsberg-Tetley was thwarted when the Government referred the deal to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission. If allowed through, the deal would give Bass 35-40 per cent of the British beer market but at a possible cost of 2,000 jobs.

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Faculty of Arts

Vacancy UAC.809

This position is for a lecturer to co-ordinate credit and non-credit papers for students of non-English background and to do some teaching in the Master of Arts in Language Teaching or Diploma in English Language Teaching. The successful applicant will join the Institute of Language Teaching and Learning, directed by Professor Jack Richards. Applicants should have a PhD degree or at least an MA in TESL with a good publication record and experience in developing and teaching EAP courses at the tertiary level.

Closing date: 8 January 1997.

Lectureship/Senior Lectureship in Italian

Department of Italian

School of European Languages & Literatures

Vacancy UAC.813

The University of Auckland is New Zealand's largest university and has been offering courses in Italian since 1948. The Department of Italian has an academic staff of seven who teach Italian language, literature, film and cultural studies for BA, MA and PhD, and whose research interests include Renaissance drama, verismo, women writers, literature and politics, poststructuralist theory, multi-media language teaching, and contemporary fiction and film. The University now seeks a Lecturer or Senior Lecturer (depending on qualifications and experience) to teach Italian language, literature and/or linguistics. Applicants should hold a doctorate and have a strong record of published research and successful teaching. Candidates with research interests in any field will be considered, but applications from scholars in Dante and medieval studies, nineteenth- and twentieth-century poetry, or linguistics will be especially welcome. The person appointed will be expected to contribute to courses at all levels, including some language teaching.

Closing date: 31 January 1997.

Commencing salary per annum will be NZ$44,250 - NZ$53,250 (Lecturer) or NZ$56,600 - NZ$65,250 (Senior Lecturer).

Further information and Conditions of Appointment should be obtained from the Appointments Department, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF (tel. 0171 387 8572 ext. 206; fax 0171 813 3055; email: appts@acu.ac.uk); or from the Academic Appointments Office, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand (tel. (64 9) 373 7599 Extn. 5790; fax (64 9) 373 7023; Email: appointments@auckland.ac.nz). Three copies of applications should be forwarded to reach the Registrar by the closing date.

Please quote relevant vacancy number in all correspondence

W B NICOLL, REGISTRAR



The University has an equal opportunities policy and welcomes applications from all qualified persons

CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANTS

LTS International Ltd is a consultancy company specialising in forest sector development with three areas of focus: conservation and community forestry; production forest management; and forest products industries. We are committed to providing high quality consultancy inputs which contribute to the environmental, economic and social sustainability of the world's forests. We would like to hear from consultants who share our aims.Clients include multilateral and bilateral donor agencies, development banks, private companies and national governments.

We are seeking experienced consultants for a number of current projects in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, the Indian sub-continent and SE Asia in the fields of Natural Resource project management (team leaders), participatory forestry (including training and extension). Protected Area planning and management, integrated rural development, institutional strengthening and GIS. We also wish to hear from consultants for forthcoming opportunities in: Natural Resource economics; natural and plantation tropical forestry; EIA; rural development; watershed management; landuse planning and project cycle management.

If interested in long or short term assignments, please send your CV to: Wendy Swan, LTS International Ltd, Pentlands Science Park, Bush Loan, Penicuik, Nr Edinburgh EH26 0PH, UK

telephone +44 131 440 5500 fax +44 131 440 5501
e-mail mail@ltsi.demon.co.uk or
100336.431@compuserve.com

FACULTY OF SCIENCE DEPARTMENT: PURE AND APPLIED MATHEMATICS

Lecturer: Mathematics

Requirements: At least a master's degree and teaching experience at tertiary level.

Job description: Designing and presenting of undergraduate courses in mathematics.

Date of assumption of duties: 1 May 1997.

Closing date: 15 February 1997.

OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN TECHNICAL SERVICES UNIT

Acquisition Librarian

Requirements: An appropriate degree with postgraduate qualification in the field of library and information, or equivalent; experience in computerised bibliographic control; financial administration skills. *Knowledge of the book trade and experience in various fields of* library practice will serve as a strong recommendation.

Job description: Management and administration of the library's acquisition section, i.e. policy and procedure, budget control, training and supervision of staff and liaison with suppliers.

Date of assumption of duties: 1 February 1997 or as soon as possible.

Closing date for applications: 31 December 1996.

Contact person: Ms D Nashandih-Endjambi at 09-264-61-206-3101/2.

Fringe benefits: The University of Namibia offers competitive salaries and the following fringe benefits: ● pension fund/gratuity scheme ● medical aid scheme ● annual bonus ● housing scheme ● generous leave privileges ● relocation expenses.

Non-Namibian citizens may be appointed for a 3-year, renewable contract period.

Application procedure: Applications in writing, accompanied by a sample of publications and curriculum vitae stating full details of present salary notch, increment date, the earliest available date when duty can be assumed and including three referees should be submitted to: The Head, Recruitment and Administration, University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia. Preliminary telegraphic applications may be made via fax 09-264-61-206-3843/206-3003.



ADMARK S5873/P631

DEPUTY VICE-CHANCELLORS

Applications or nominations are invited for three Deputy Vice-Chancellor posts. The paramount quality sought is a capacity for academic leadership which will benefit all the communities served by the University. The successful candidates will also possess managerial, interpersonal and administrative skills. Duties will be allocated by the Vice-Chancellor in consultation with the Vice-Chancellor designate who will assume the vice-chancellorship on **1 January 1998.**

Information on the selection procedure is available from the Chairman of the Council.

The University, which is situated in the economic heartland of South Africa, consists of 9 faculties (with 99 departments) and nearly 70 research units. The academic staff complement exceeds 1200 and there are approximately 18 000 students of all races.

Applications and nominations (which must be signed by two people), together with a detailed CV and the names, addresses and telephone/fax/email numbers of 3 referees, should be submitted under Personal and Confidential cover to Mr Justice F Bam, Chairman of Council, University of the Witwatersrand, Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa.

Closing date: 31 January 1997.
Quote Ref: Int. G/W 15216.

WITS UNIVERSITY

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ING/W 15216

New Management Training Institute for the NGO sector in Cambodia

In April 1997 a new management training institute will be established to serve the NGO sector in Cambodia. The institute is being created to meet *the need of both international and Cambodian NGOs for skilled* local managers. The NGO sector is making a significant contribution to rebuilding Cambodia after years of civil war and international isolation, and there is a huge demand for skills managers who are capable of running and developing organisations. The intention is that the institute will become wholly Cambodian as soon as possible, but during its first years two expatriates are needed to work with the Director in creating the organisation and training the Cambodian trainers.

Administration and Finance Advisor:

An administration and finance professional is needed for two years. The post holder must have the skills and knowledge required to establish all the administration and finance systems necessary for the institute to function. The task will then be to train Cambodian staff to take over the administration of the institute. This position is critical to the success of the new initiative and needs someone who is committed to the transfer of skills and knowledge to local staff.

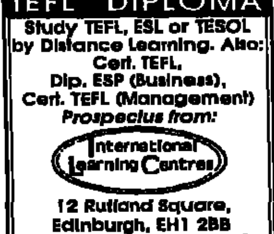
Management Training Specialist:

A management training specialist is required to develop the Cambodian management training team. The post holder must have strong technical knowledge of training and management. Absolutely essential is the ability to develop staff, and to transfer knowledge and skills. Patience and the ability to adapt theories and techniques to the circumstances and culture of Cambodia are also very important.

Further details may be obtained from Jenny Pearson, PO Box 149, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, fax 855-23-427820 or 427855, email PACT CAM@UNI.FI, alternately send CV, references, and cover letter, including salary requirement to the same address. Closing date 3.2.97.

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Opportunity abroad

Health Project Field Manager, India

This post was previously advertised in January 1996. The project design has since been significantly changed and the start date revised.

The Orissa Health and Family Welfare Project has been running since 1980 and is just beginning its third phase. The first two phases added to the Government of Orissa's stock of Primary Health Care facilities, and helped put in place a state wide inservice training programme. The third phase aims to assist the Government to design and implement a series of reforms that will enable the people of Orissa to access primary health care that is better targeted on priority needs, more equitable, higher quality and more affordable to Government.

The British Council is seeking an experienced field manager to handle ODA's contribution to the project. The appointment will be subject to the finalisation of the contract between the client (ODA) and the British Council. The successful applicant will have managerial responsibility which includes: representing ODA interests; monitoring the project's progress; liaising with the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare; financial control and progress reporting as well as line management of British Council appointed projects staff and consultants. The post will also provide overall management support to three related reproductive health projects in Orissa.

Qualifications and experience: applicants should be either British citizens, EU nationals or Commonwealth citizens with an established right of abode and the right to work in the United Kingdom.

He/she will have a higher degree relevant to the management of health sector development projects in developing countries, or a higher degree in a related subject, supported by application in a health setting. Necessary skills include: project management; first class communication, interpersonal and organisational skills; ability to lead a multi-disciplinary team; financial management and experience of IT in project management. Candidates must be able to demonstrate successful application of their specialist skills to practical aid and development issues in the health sector. Several years' experience of development projects, preferably complex process projects, including working directly with major project stakeholders, is essential. A significant proportion of this experience should have been gained in a management role. In depth knowledge of Health Sector Reform issues is essential. Relevant experience in India, or elsewhere in South Asia, and a familiarity with ODA's current policies and procedures will be an advantage.

Salary and allowances: between £26,000 and £35,000 per annum; superannuation compensation addition; plus overseas allowances as applicable.

Benefits: include free accommodation; airfares; baggage allowance; medical insurance and child education allowances.

Contract: initially for two or three years, commencing 1 April 1997.

Closing date for applications: 15 January 1997.

Interviews: to be held in Manchester.

Post reference: 96/N/013.

Requests for further details and application form, quoting post reference and enclosing an A4 sae (38p) to: Mark Hepworth, Overseas Appointments Services, The British Council, Medlock Street, Manchester M15 4AA.
Telephone: 0161-957 7383, fax: 0161-957 7397.

The British Council and the ODA are committed to a policy of equal opportunities.





THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY

a new and independent policy studies forum in the world of human rights, wishes to recruit its first

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Required to manage and direct to work of the Council and its staff, and implement the mandate of the International Council through a programme of applied policy research in response to the challenges currently facing the worldwide efforts to safeguard and advance human rights. The International Council will probably be based in either Geneva or London (under discussion). The founding Executive Board is seeking a person with experience and vision including:

- **substantial background in the area of human rights as broadly**
- **defined;**
- ***establish a record of policy research;***
- **demonstrated capacity of strategic thinking;**
- **understanding of collaborative research processes;**
- **managerial and communication skills;**
- **ability to create and sustain a multicultural working environment;**
- **written and spoken fluency in the English Language;**
- **proficiency in another language (Arabic, French, Spanish) (desirable).**

Founding Board Members are: **Thomas Hammarberg** *(Acting Chair),* **Ligia Bolivar, Hina Jilani, Virginia Leary, Philip Alston and Abdullahi An-Na'im.**

Further information and application form can be obtained from:
Lynn Welchman, c/o INTERIGHTS, Lancaster House, 33 Islington High Street, London N1 9LH, U.K.
Fax No: (+44) (0) 171 278 4334.

Closing date for applications: **28 February 1997.**

THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY
aims to be an equal opportunities employer.

School of Economic and Social Studies

UEA NORWICH

Chair in the International Relations of the Asia-Pacific Region

Applications are invited for a newly established Chair in International Relations in the School of Economic and Social Studies. The appointment provides an opportunity for an energetic scholar to play a central role in the University's new Asia-Pacific Initiative. A strong preference will be given to candidates with research and teaching expertise and linguistic abilities in Asia-Pacific Studies. Other candidates willing to develop research initiatives in this region are also encouraged to apply.

The University hopes to make an appointment not later than September 1997. Salary will be negotiable within the professorial salary range, minimum £32,000 per annum.

Further details and application forms should be obtained from Mr MGE Paulson-Ellis, Registrar and Secretary, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ (telephone +44 1603 593648, fax +44 1603 507753, E-mail address M.Paulson-Ellis@uea.ac.uk). The further particulars can also be found on the University's Web page at http://www.uea.ac.uk/vacancies/
Closing date for applications is Friday 17 January 1997.
Please quote reference AC130.

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DEPARTMENT OF MECHANICAL & ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING

Lectureships

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Well-qualified candidates to strengthen expertise in Control Engineering and in Engineering Design are sought. Successful applicants will be expected not only to undertake research, but also to make a significant contribution to the Department's teaching activities.

Applicants must have a good first degree in Mechanical or Electrical Engineering or Applied Mathematics. Successful candidates not already holding a PhD degree will be encouraged to register for a Higher degree on a part-time basis.

Terms of appointment will depend upon the background and experience of particular candidates. The minimum period for which appointments are made is normally three years, with the possibility of renewal or subsequent transfer to continuing appointments.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer (Academic Staff), quoting ref:9643/1, Aston University, Aston Triangle, Birmingham B4 7ET. Tel: 0121 359 0870 (24 hour answerphone); Fax: 0121 359 6470; Email: b.a.power@aston.ac.uk
Closing date: 3 January 1997

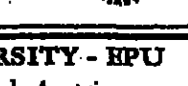
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For application pack contact Sheila Parker at Traidcraft Exchange, Kingsway, Gateshead, Tyne & Wear NE11 0NE.
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Redd Barna is a Norwegian membership organisation which is politically neutral and non sectarian. Redd Barna aims to develop increased insight into children's needs and promote their rights. The work includes long term activities and emergency relief in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as work for exposed groups of children in Europe. The budget for 1997 is approximately NOK 300 mill.

REDD BARNA

Resident Representative
Nicaragua

Redd Barna has worked in Nicaragua since 1987.
The programme comprises professional and financial support to organisations that work for children and their rights. The cooperation emphasizes networks and exchange of experience both between various local organisations and across country borders in the region. Redd Barna Nicaragua has 14 staff and a budget of NOK 18 mill for 1997.

As our Resident Representative terminates her contract in June 1997, we now seek to replace her. The Resident Representative will have the overall responsibilty for planning, implementing, follow-up and further development of Redd Barna Nicaragua's activities.
You will also have the administrative, financial and staff responsibility, and conduct negotiations with authorities and other partners.

You must have university or other advanced education and experience in working with children and youth.
You must also have relevant management experience. We assume that you have experience from working in foreign cultures, preferably Latin America. Fluency, both spoken and written, in Spanish and English is required.

At the selection we will also make note of your ability to motivate and communicate with the people around you. It is important that you feel comfortable in a fascilitator's role. You must be able to identify with Redd Barna's code of conduct.

Duration of employment: 2 years with the possibility of extension. The remuneration and benefits package compares favourably with other international NGOs.

Further information may be obtained from Karl Thomassen or Aina Bergstrom, tel. 47 22 08 16 00, fax 47 22 08 17 40. Applications with CV, certificates and testimonials should be sent to: Redd Barna, Personnel & Org. Dept, P.O. Box 6200 Etterstad, N-0602 Oslo before January 15, 1997.

LONDON SCHOOL OF HYGIENE & TROPICAL MEDICINE



Department of Public Health & Policy

POST OF LECTURER AND SENIOR LECTURER IN THE HEALTH POLICY UNIT

The Health Policy Unit is a multidisciplinary Unit concerned with the development and evaluation *of health policy/systems/services in middle and* low income countries. Applications are invited for two posts, one lecturer and one senior lecturer, to contribute to the Units main areas of research and teaching which include financing and organisation of health systems, health policy analysis and health services research, particularly social and economic aspects. Disciplinary background is less important than a strong commitment to engage in research and teaching and experience of working overseas.

Salary will be in the range £17,547 - £28,992 inclusive for the Lectureship and £30,329 - £36,572 inclusive for the Senior Lectureship. Further details are available from the Personnel Officer, LSHTM, Keppel Street, London WC1 7HT (telephone 0171 927 2203; fax 0171 636 4771; e-mail personnel@lshtm.ac.uk). Professor Mills (0171 927 2354) may be contacted for informal discussions. Please quote reference **AM1** for the Lecturer post and **AM2** for the Senior Lecturer post.

Closing date for applications 10 January 1997.

The London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine is an equal opportunities employer.



EUROPEAN CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT POLICY MANAGEMENT



OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

RESEARCH FELLOW/PROGRAMME OFFICER IN EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Priority areas for research will be external trade policy of the EC towards developing countries, in particular the African, Caribbean and Pacific states, and EU aid effectiveness. Candidates for this three-year joint appointment should have a degree in Economics and preferably a post-graduate qualification, fluency in French and English, good communication and organisational skills, knowledge of EC-ACP relations and experience of developing countries. The post will be based in either London or Maastricht with extended visits to the partner organisation.

For further particulars, please write to Mrs Sheila Field, Overseas Development Institute, Portland House, Stag Place, London SW1E 5DP. Fax. No. +44 (0) 171 393 1699. Closing Date: 31 December 1996.

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SCHOOL OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN STUDIES

Lecturer/Senior Lecturer in Development Economics

Applications are invited for a post as Lecturer/Senior Lecturer in Development Economics, available from 1 September 1997. *The person appointed will have* particular responsibility for directing the MA Programme in Development Economics and for the recruitment and training of doctoral students in this field. If appropriate, the title of Reader may be awarded to the successful applicant.

Salary will be on either the Lecturer Grade B Scale, £20,677 to £26,430, or Senior Lecturer Scale, £27,747 to £31,357 per annum (under review).

Further particulars and application forms are available from Miss LA Collins, Staffing Services Office, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9RH, tel: 01273 678201, E-mail: L.A.Collins@sussex.ac.uk. Closing date for receipt of applications: 6 January 1997.

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HOTELS & APARTMENTS

Battersea set for a rollercoaster ride

Clare Longrigg

THE vast towers of Battersea power station, London's best-loved derelict industrial site, have stood guard over the gaping ruin of the building since 1982. But not for much longer.

Parkview, the Hong Kong-based developers who have won planning permission for the main power station, have outlined their application *for its development.*

Plans for the 13-acre site involve two hotels, two theatres and residential flats. The site will be linked by rail to Victoria, and by river bus to the rest of London.

Parkview's application to turn the main power station into a leisure and retail centre, with a multiplex cinema and a number of themed restaurants, has already been accepted by Wandsworth council.

Plans have been circumscribed by the building's Grade II listing, which means that many original features have to be preserved, including the art deco tiling and almost windowless brick shell.

Ove Arup, Parkview's architects, rejected a scheme for a tower over *the power station.*

The structure, the largest brick building in Europe, dominates the final plans. Inside the shell, planners have visualised a Disney-style shopping kingdom. Parkview spokesmen described the concept as a "Roman hill town" with "unique themed restaurants" and US-style retail outlets.

They promised that high street chain stores would not have a place in their city of the future. There will be funfair rides in the chimneys, including a white-knuckle ride with a panoramic view of London from the top.

Centrepiece of the new development would be a fountain of monumental proportions, using water, *steam and fire, playing to the sound* of music. The development will create an estimated 3,000 jobs and will cost in the region of £500 million.

If planning permission is granted immediately, Parkview claims it could open the new centre by the millennium.

A cutaway illustration by the developers of how Battersea power station could look by 2000

Letter from Argentina Chris Moss



On the open range

PROVINCIAL Argentines are quick to dissociate themselves from the capital. You needn't go further than the province of Buenos Aires, which lies dead flat around the city for 800km south and west, to see why.

Anyone travelling across the vast pampas will notice the *montes* or planted copses which shade and lessen the impact of the wind on the homes of individuals who constitute the last remnants of gaucho civilisation. These *gauchos serve to point* up the deepening divisions taking place in the new, "stable" Argentina.

Celasco is not untypical. He lives alone on a small tenant farm some 30km from the old fortress town of Dolores. His wife prefers to live in the town itself, where there is work, activity and a hint of the fashions and lifestyle which filter out from the capital. Their only daughter, Karina, is already in the capital, working and studying. So Celasco is alone, *though* the owner occasionally pays another local to help out with the upkeep of the houses while Celasco occupies himself with the cows and sheep.

He speaks warmly of past times. Though only in his early 40s, he expresses nostalgia for a time when the farm was alive with families, three generations of both owners and tenants.

Karina attended the local rural school, on horseback. There were improvised wine and food stores *and music and dancing.* Today occasional gaucho festivals in nearby towns — where Celasco and his peers demonstrate their outstanding horsemanship before sitting down to a massive barbecue — revive this spirit, but they are few and far between. They are in danger of falling into being quaint tourist spectacles for daytrippers.

Celasco is a tall, slim Basque gaucho — there are gauchos of Irish, Jewish and English descent, as well *as the original mestizo gauchos of* mixed Spanish and indigenous blood who populate Argentine history and myth to equal degrees.

Collectively, they are as much a cultural entity as the more "exotic" indigenous peoples of the west and northern altiplano. They are similarly far-removed from the hectic capital and its vertical dreams of concrete and cash. Celasco pays little attention to the names which come and go so fleetingly on his old radio. *When the provincial gover*nor's helicopter flew over recently, his two dogs — Pup and One Eye — ran out to bark upwards. Otherwise the city is far off. But Celasco is well aware of its pull. He speaks with horror of the noise, the money-obsession, the absence of sky in the metropolis, and its encroachment on the edge of his territory.

The pampas in winter are desolate — the flatness is scorched by frost, often dry for want of rain, barren of the birdlife so rich in spring and summer. The gaucho's farming is of the observer variety. What urbanites consider his innate sloth is a natural result of the environment and the dreariness of daily tasks — an occasional tricky pregnancy, a cow sick but of so little value that a vet is not worth the trouble, a battered section of fencing. If there is anything major to be done, labourers will be contracted in to do it. The solitary gaucho drinks his maté tea slowly and stretches out his siestas to combat long stretches of boredom and emptiness.

It is not surprising that this kind of life is dying out. Argentina looks *elsewhere* for hope, caught up in global currents in which it is a minor player and trapped in historical delusions which idealise the First World and European culture.

Though agriculture continues to figure as an important entry on the balance of trade, the caretakers of the pastureland, through which Argentina once rose to fame and fortune, are largely forgotten. In the capital, they put in an appearance at the annual rural fair, along with the *prize bulls and sheep.* But as times change, so do mythologies — in the great Argentine gaucho epic Martin Fierro, the hero considers his life a cursed one, in a province he called "a mother who failed to defend her sons".

Celasco's life, lacking the wildness and wars of his forefathers, is pitied, ignored and laughed at. The gaucho, once a symbol of settlement and nationhood, joins the natives, those first *provincianos* the great *port city could find no use for.*

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

A ***PART*** **from Summer Holiday, which is the worst song ever recorded?**

TIPTOE Through The Tulips, performed in ghastly falsetto by the late Tiny Tim. — *David Lewis, Prevessin-Moens, France*

IT HAS to be Mouldy Old Dough by Lieutenant Pigeon. These seventies misfits were so far removed from pop performers of the day that they even had one of the band's mothers on keyboards! — *Norman Morrison, Peterborough*

KENNY EVERETT several years ago invited listeners to vote for the worst record ever. Long-Haired Lover From Liverpool by Little Jimmy Osmond was beaten into second place by The Shifting Whispering Sands sung, or rather intoned, by Eamonn Andrews. If there is a worse song I hope I don't hear it. — *Brian Gunn, Sompting, W Sussex*

THIS PULLOVER by Jess Conrad would be my nomination. "This pullover that you gave to me/ I am wearing and wear it constantly./ Soft and warming like your love for me/ it was made, dear, like you were made for me", and so on ... At the same time, surely anything penned by Ringo Starr deserves a mention. — *Dave Hastings, Wood Green, London*

A ***LLEGRO*****, Astra, Capri, Cortina, Fiesta, Maxi, Viva. What is the marketing theory which dictates that virtually every British post-war car has to have a name ending with a vowel?**

I WAS intrigued to note that the English language is still evolving, and that Fred Brooks (December 8) has decided that "e" — as at the end of Alpine and Cambridge — is no longer a vowel. — *Pat Charnock, Harringay, London*

PAUSING only to don my anorak, I listed every model in the A to Z of new cars (What Car, November 1996), ignoring derivatives such as estate or coupé. Result: most cars do not have names. Letter/number identifiers, such as XK8 or 405, total 69. Non-Italianates, such as Escort or Colt, total 53. Italianates, including Nexia, Ibiza (and Mini) total 52. A fourth category, the genuinely Italian products of Maserati and Fiat, totals seven. — *Trig Ellis, Chesterfield*

A ***GOOGOL*** **is** 10^{100} **(1 followed by 100 zeros). Can there possibly be a googol of anything in the universe?**

MATHEMATICS And The Imagination by Edward Kasner and James Newman (Bell & Sons, 1949) states that, although the total number of electrons in the universe (10 to the power of 79) is less than a googol, the total possible moves in a game of chess (10 to the power of 10 to the power of 50) is considerably larger than a googol. The book claims the name "googol" was invented by Kasner's nephew at the age of nine. He also named an even larger number, the googolplex which is one followed by a googol zeros. — *Bill Lythgoe, Wigan*

Any answers?

D ***OES*** **a grasshopper have any control over where it lands after a hop?** — *Mark Miller, Witham, Essex*

I ***N*** **Jerome K Jerome's Two Men On The Bummel, a reference is made to Tom and Jerryism. Since this predates the cartoon, who were Tom and Jerry?** — *Reg Williamson, Kidsgrove, Staffordshire*

A ***RE*** **natural "will-o'-the-wisp" ever seen these days? How does self-combustion of the methane take place.** — *Ivor Stott Fras, Wimborne, Dorset*

B ***Y PERCENTAGE*****, which mass-produced consumer item shows the greatest difference between cost of manufacture and sale price?** — *Gerard Mackay, Nesscliffe, Shropshire*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. There is a Notes & Queries web site at http://go2.guardian.co.uk/nq/

A Country Diary

Richard Mabey

CHILTERNS: Three hard, successive night frosts had rinsed the air clear of mist, and the canal lay as still and sharp as a pane of glass. There were herons hunched along the bank, staring at their own immobile reflections. Another was poised elegantly on the stern of a moored punt. A kingfisher streaked out of a hawthorn bush, and then — I think I had strayed into the centre of its fishing territory — flew back past me. It was flying in a way I had never seen before, wings shivering for a few feet, then gliding, much as dippers do. It was close enough to the surface of the water for bird and reflection to form one single bizarre creature, like a giant harlequin dragonfly. I wondered how it (and the herons, too) coped with the dazzle and polish of this flat-calm surface. Could they see fish beyond their own mirror-images? Did they have momentary hallucinations of competing birds mimicking their moves under the water? Then, out of the corner of my eye, I saw a flock of starlings dropping out of the sky. They free-fell maybe 15m in perfect formation, their wings glittering as the trailing edges refracted the low sun. It was like a synchronised swoon.

I have seen displays like this two or three times before, and know that it is one of the manoeuvres they use to confuse predators. And sure enough, a second later a sparrowhawk soared over my head towards the outlying birds, now flying straight at a very low level. I would love to see a slow motion film of that theatrical dive. Was it truly simultaneous, with every bird seeing and reacting at once to the threat? Or did it ripple through the flock like a breeze over the water? But there were spots before my eyes, and I had to look away and conceded that bird's visualisation is beyond our *comprehension.*

Goods for some are bad for others

Ministers meeting at this week's world trade summit are discussing how to ease restrictions. It is a course that will ruin yet more lives, argues **Kevin Watkins**

DOES mention of the *World Trade Organisation* make your eyelids heavy? Well, it's time to wake up. Behind that dense fog of trade jargon, the environment, your rights as a consumer, and those of the world's poorest people are under attack.

All this week, trade ministers from more than 100 countries have been meeting in Singapore for the first WTO ministerial summit. The aim is to chart a course for trade into the 21st century and to accelerate the creation of a global market free of trade restrictions. The outcome will affect everyone's life.

Every time we buy fruit in a supermarket, or purchase a shirt or television, we are engaging in trade; and we are taking decisions which affect the environment and link us to producers in developing countries. The problem is that our ability to make informed and responsible choices about how we trade is circumscribed by WTO rules.

At the core of these rules is an apparently innocuous legal distinction between traded products and "processing and production methods". Governments are entitled to use *trade restrictions against* products on scientifically established health grounds, but cannot limit imports because of social or environmental concerns over the way they are produced.

This approach evolved from a 1991 ruling, in which a WTO panel overturned a US prohibition on imports of tuna from countries whose fleets used methods, such as purse seine net fishing, which kill large *numbers of dolphins. It was a pre*posterous ruling, in effect outlawing the use of any trade measures to protect the environment or to conserve species.

For a glimpse at its implications, take a look a Mexico's *maquiladora* zone. Blue-chip American companies such as General Motors, Du Pont and General Electric have relocated some of their most pollution-intensive operations here, partly to escape US environmental legislation. Heavy metals and toxic chemicals have been dumped on a massive scale, turning the region into what the American Medical Association has called "a virtual cesspool and breeding ground for infectious disease". But GM can export its gearboxes to Europe at prices which bear no relation to the human and environmental costs of the production methods.

In a global economy increasingly dominated by transnational companies which can seek to maximise profits by locating production in sites with the weakest social and environmental standards, this is a recipe for disaster.

Even the most myopic trade junky will admit privately that international market prices do not reflect the costs of cutting down forests, polluting waterways, eroding soils, and over-fishing. Yet in contrast to other areas of world trade, where the sale of goods at artificially low prices is forbidden, "ecological dumping", or the sale of commodities at prices below their real costs of production, is celebrated as a market virtue. You can't sell a colour television at prices below production cost, but you can export mahogany toilet seats from Indonesia at prices which bear no *relation to the cost of lost liveli*hoods, soil erosion, or the loss of species.

New trade rules are needed which recognise the value of the environment, and which permit import controls on goods produced in environmentally damaging circumstances. A WTO social clause to protect basic workers' rights and address the most exploitative forms of child labour should be another step.

Unfortunately, Third World governments at the WTO regard any social and environmental regulation of trade as a protectionist threat to their trade interests. Governments may be motivated by a concern to maximise foreign exchange earnings, but precisely what interest vulnerable communities have in being poisoned by toxic wastes, displaced from their forests, or seeing their fisheries stocks depleted is unclear.

In the industrialised world, too, the WTO's rules permeate our lives to disastrous effect. If, for example, you like your milk without growth hormones, you have a problem, because a WTO panel is about to rule that a European Union ban on the use of bovine somatatropin (BST) — a hormone which raises milk yields by up to 25 per cent — is a breach of international trade law. The case was brought to the WTO by the US government on behalf of Monsanto, a chemicals company which holds the patent for BST and stands to make in excess of $500 million annually from access to the EU market.

According to Monsanto, there is no scientific evidence of any health risk from BST, so the EU's import ban is really about the method used *to produce milk, and therefore a* violation of WTO rules. Even though medical research has pointed to BST as a potential risk factor for breast and gastro-intestinal cancers, the WTO does not recognise caution as a legitimate reason to restrain imports.

Perhaps you harbour the hope that food labelling laws will protect your right not to eat foods which you regard, rightly or wrongly, as a threat to your health. After all, consumer sovereignty is supposed to be the governing principle of the free market. Well, forget it. Under the WTO's rules, you have no right to know what is in your food.

FOR EXAMPLE, the Swiss chemical conglomerate Ciba Geigy has threatened to contest at the WTO the EU's refusal to market a variety of genetically-engineered corn. The genes in question, derived from a soil bacterium, have never formed part of the human food chain, so their health effects are unknown. What is known is that they confer a resistance to ampicillin, one of the most common antibiotics.

The WTO restrictions on environmental labelling schemes are equally prohibitive. For instance, the EU has developed an eco-labelling scheme for sustainably produced paper that could help to promote the greening of the industry, enabling consumers to express through the market a preference for sustainably produced goods. In practice, the scheme is unlikely to get off the ground, since the US Paper Manufacturers Association has warned that it will contest at the WTO any discrimination between paper products on the basis of how they are produced.

Paper is just the tip of an iceberg. The Canadian government has asked the WTO to confirm that all *eco-labelling* schemes making a distinction between similar products (ie, sustainably and unsustainably logged timber) are illegal. Even voluntary certification schemes drawn up by development and environment groups to indicate fairly-traded tea and coffee, organically produced food, and sustainably produced wood, could be banned — thus crippling one of the most potent forces for change from below.

As it is, a wide range of environmental and conservation measures won through intensive campaigning are already under threat. A Dutch import ban on fur from animals caught in leg traps has been threatened with action at the WTO by the US and Canada; a US ban on imports of shrimps caught without measures to protect endangered sea turtles has been challenged by Thailand and Singapore, two of the worst offenders; and Indonesia, Malaysia and Brazil have threatened recourse to the WTO if the industrial countries attempt to restrict imports of unsustainably logged timber.

Against this backdrop, prospects for the WTO summit make depressing viewing. In a world so profoundly threatened by environmental problems, so scarred by poverty, we desperately need new rules and new institutions to govern international trade. People, as well as corporations, have rights.

Kevin Watkins is senior policy adviser for Oxfam

Blast-off heralds new era in Mars exploration

A NASA spacecraft with a robot rover on board began a 310 million-mile journey to Mars last week, after two false starts, *writes Tim Radford.*

The Mars Pathfinder lander — the second United States probe in a month — is due to float down by parachute and bounce gently to rest on airbags on the surface of the Red Planet on July 4, 1997. It will be the first visit for 21 years, since the *Viking lander probes made an initial* tentative exploration of Mars and pronounced it dead.

This time things are different. Nasa's instruments are designed to detect evidence of water, and therefore proof of at least bygone life. Since August, scientists in the US and Britain believe they have identified circumstantial evidence of microbial life in at least two separate Martian meteorites of wildly different ages.

Martian exploration has a long history — the Soviet Union launched its first attempt in 1960 — but now the stakes are higher.

Russia's latest attempt, which was to have been the second of three shots at Mars in a month, crashed in the Pacific with several British experiments on board on November 18. The first of the series, Mars Global Surveyor, was a new version of Nasa's Mars Observer, which suddenly went silent as it reached Mars in 1992.

With precedents like these, Nasa has taken no chances. It delayed a launch on Monday last week because of the weather, and on Tuesday because of a computer glitch.

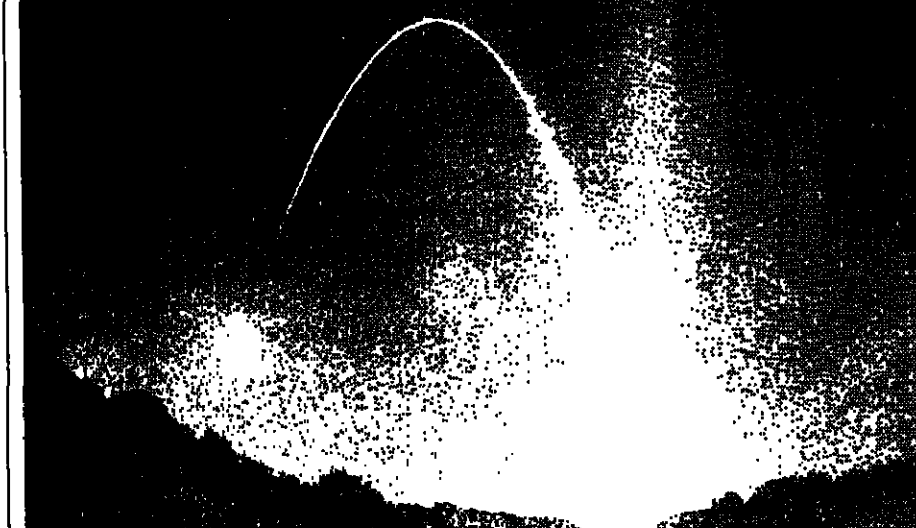
Even when the mission shot out of Earth's orbit and tilted towards a Martian rendezvous at 23,000mph on Wednesday, Pathfinder had one potential problem, however: low voltage on a navigation device.

Although the last of the launches this year, it will be the first to arrive. *After* landing petals of the spacecraft will unfold, two ramps will slide down, and a six-wheeled, 10kg rover called Sojourner will beetle down and begin examining the nearby rocks, relaying information back to Earth. Two months later the Global Surveyor will arrive and begin a series of orbits around the Red Planet.

After it enters the thin Martian atmosphere, the onboard computer will pay out a large parachute. Then about 100 metres above the surface airbags will inflate and the spacecraft will bounce to rest on what scientists believe is a rocky plain.

Japan will launch its Planet B mission to Mars in 1998. There will be one more Nasa surveyor and one more lander, followed possibly by two more landers on the Martian ice cap in 1999. More missions are planned by Nasa after 2000.

The ultimate goal, announced years ago by President George Bush, who conspicuously failed to announce any funds for the project, is a human landing on Mars.



The rocket carrying Nasa's probe lifts off from Cape Canaveral — PHOTOGRAPH: MIKE BROWN

Riddle of the Martian 'Face'

T*WENTY* years ago, the Viking missions produced tantalising images of the surface *of Mars, including the notorious* "Face of Cydonia".

Planetary scientists called it an "artefact" — a trick of light and angle. UFO-watchers firmly believed otherwise. They saw the face, and other features mapped by Viking, as evidence of an ancient civilisation on Mars, perhaps wiped out in the cataclysm which stripped away the Martian oceans and atmosphere.

For 20 years scientists have shaken their heads. All the evidence from the Viking mission showed that Mars was dead and *inhospitable* to life.

But this view has changed. In the past 10 years biologists have been finding microbial life in improbable, and even what were once thought impossible, places on Earth — deep in the darkest abysses of the oceans, at very high temperatures in volcanic vents, in lakes of sulphuric acid and alkaline swamps, and at crushing pressures deep in the Earth's crust. Serious scientists talked of the possibility of bygone life surviving on Mars — if there was water.

In August, and again in October, United States and British scientists identified evidence of microbial life in meteorites known to have come from Mars. The Pathfinder and Mars Global Surveyor missions are not looking specifically for life, but for evidence of water, now or in the past.

Neither craft will be looking for traces of vanished civilisations — but if the Mars orbiter camera catches the Face of Cydonia, it will relay the picture to Earth.



Europe's youth is leading the way in reviving minority languages — PHOTOGRAPH: JOANNE O BRIEN

Celts reverse the tide of history

While England sulks, a revival of Gaelic culture is sweeping the British Isles and the rest of Europe, reports **Cal McCrystal**

A SUSTAINED resurgence of Celtic languages is giving the lie to those who claimed that the European Union would inevitably produce a homogenised culture throughout the British Isles. Even in divided Northern Ireland, an increasing number of Protestant loyalists are learning Gaelic, turning to the Scottish version of the language for inspiration.

The Celtic revival sweeping Wales, Scotland and both parts of Ireland is remarkable for several reasons. It appears not to be identified with nationalist movements. Its ethos is ultra-modern — it is dominated by youth and encouraged in infancy. Its voice is self-assured, topical and unsentimental. It has shown itself capable of surmounting territorial and religious barriers. Most of all, it is heartily pro-European.

In Scotland the "huge upsurge" of interest in Gaelic has created a temporary shortage of teachers. Donald MacSween, chief executive of An Comunn Gaidhealach (the Gaelic Association), says that within 25 years Scotland will have "well over 100,000 fluent Gaelic speakers", compared with the 60,000 recorded by the 1991 census. In Wales, about a third of the population now has "some understanding" of Welsh Gaelic, says Hugh Jones, who runs the Welsh-language S4C television. Since the station came on air 14 years ago, the proportion of children between the ages of three and 15 who speak Welsh has increased from 18 per cent to 24 per cent.

But it is in Ireland — long thought to have given up on what remains, officially, the state language — that the resurgence is most marked. In November a new terrestrial television channel, Teilifis na Gaeilge, began transmission, sometimes using subtitles to draw in audiences. Its staff has an average age of 27. It pumps out soap operas, pre-school programmes, news, sports and music in a way that would have been anathema to an older generation of Gaelic defenders.

Gaelic watchers in all three countries — and in Cornwall and Brittany — are maintaining a dialogue, trying out each other's ideas to keep up the momentum of the revival. All are unanimous that the promotion of their minority languages will bring economic benefits as well as new cultural pride.

Elen Rhys, director of the Cardiff-based language organisation Acen (Accent), reports: "Not long ago there were two or three translation agencies in Wales to assist companies and individuals to do business here. Today the number runs into three figures."

In Ireland, Gaelic had come to be associated with aggressive nationalism and priestly power. In 1904 an education commissioner in British-ruled Ireland wrote to Douglas Hyde, founder of the language-promoting Gaelic League: "I will use all my influence to ensure that Irish as a spoken language shall die out as quickly as possible."

He was not entirely successful. When three Irish provinces and a bit of the fourth gained independence from Britain in 1921, the new state made Irish the first language. Twenty-two years later, an influential Dublin literary magazine, the Bell, editorialised: "We treasure Gaelic for one outstanding reason — that . . . it is the one solitary remnant of living tradition that links us back to the centuries behind our breaking." Having said that, the Bell tolled dismally: "The Gaeltacht [Irish-speaking areas], the language, the Revival, everything that was so honoured and so nourishing, is now a bitter taste, sometimes positively nauseating."

The magazine said the authorities were ramming Gaelic down throats, rather than coaxing it; another difficulty was that Gaelic in Ireland — as in Scotland — was associated with defeat, starvation and impotence.

In 1963 a prominent Irish sociologist, E F O'Doherty, predicted: "The fear that we may be lost as a cultural or political entity in the world of the future is only too well grounded if our thinking is that we must resist or resent change and merely preserve the past."

The call for change carried echoes of the Scottish poet Hugh MacDiarmid, who sought a "Gaelic Idea" that would be a modern answer to "the quasi-genocidal destruction of Gaelic culture in Scotland". In Ireland, Wales and Scotland, language enthusiasts believe the Idea has arrived. Even in Brittany, where Celtic expression had been given short shrift by successive governments, "positive" remarks by President Jacques Chirac have prompted Breton-speakers to campaign for their own Breton television.

How has this transformation come about? At the Galway headquarters of Teilifis na Gaeilge, director Cathal Goan, a bearded Belfast man from the Ardoyne, acknowledges the European paradox: that, far from submerging minority languages, Europe is saving them. "More and more are travelling and working abroad, especially within the European Union," he says. "You often hear Irish people saying they are taken to be English because they speak English. They may not enjoy that so they want to learn a few words of Irish."

In the Dublin offices of Teilifis na Gaeilge, the head of development and information, Padhraic O Ciardha, believes the station's success will be due partly to a backlash against the material coming out of America and Australia. "We will not make the mistake of rebroadcasting dubbed Hollywood," he says. "Everything we do here, whether home-grown or editing a Welsh drama, creates jobs."

TEILIFIS na Gaeilge receives £10 million a year from the Irish exchequer, compared with the £70 million S4C gets from the Welsh Office and the £8.6 million government contributions to the Scottish Comataidh Telebhisein Gaidhlig.

About one million Irish people (north and south) have some knowledge of Gaelic, half of them fluent or aiming to be so, but only 70,000 converse daily in it. Gaelic classes are even being conducted on Belfast's Shankill Road, stronghold of Protestant loyalism.

In 1979 Seamus Deane, the Derry author and winner of this *year's Guardian fiction prize (see page 28)*, reflected: "Nothing is more monotonous or despairing than the search for the essence which defines a nation." Seventeen years on, the Celtic nations believe they have it.

Hugh Jones says: "The essence of Europe is its diversity. In these islands at the moment we are seeing how it is possible to have diverse cultures and to coexist." — *The Observer*

Is Britain following the American path of litigation madness, ask **Jonathan Steele** and **Ian Katz**

Devil's advocates

TWO teenagers at sixth-form colleges plan to sue their old schools for negligence because they fluffed their GCSEs: it sounds like an American-style absurdity, the sort of litigation-gone-mad syndrome which ought never to happen in Britain. Is the country going down the American road towards a lawyer-driven, jackpot-hungry morass of futile complaints of psychological trauma, fuelled by the vague hope that a litigant might persuade a jury to give him or her a compensation bonanza, or at least intimidate the defending party to pay up out of court?

Ironically, the case of the British *exam fluffers may reflect a more ag*gressive strain of litigousness than anything seen in American schools. "Things like this were toyed with in the United States 20 years ago, but even at the height of our looniness we never thought it was the appropriate remedy," says Richard Epstein, professor of law at the University of Chicago.

David Strom, legal counsel for the American Federation of Teachers, describes such lawsuits as rare and even more rarely successful: "American courts frown on such cases unless there is a gross indifference that approaches constitutional proportions. You virtually have to show that administrators willingly and knowingly participated in a programme to deprive kids of an education."

British headteachers are already up in arms at the new case, arguing that hundreds of causes can be found why a person does badly in exams, ranging from what a person has for breakfast to the family row which exploded the night before, let alone the plausible possibility that no revision was actually done.

What makes the case particularly extraordinary is that it comes shortly after another milestone of educational litigation in Britain. Last month, the London Borough of Richmond paid £30,000 to a young man, Sebastian Sharp, who claimed he suffered persistent school bullying several years earlier. His solicitor was the same man who now hopes to get money for the GCSE fluffers.

"I have absolutely no sympathy for them," says Michelle Elliott, who runs the anti-bullying charity, Kidscape. Over the past year she has noticed a big jump in the number of parents who ask for the names of solicitors. It started when the House of Lords ruled in July last year that protection from bullying was part of the duty of care which schools had to provide. Until then, duty of care had mainly covered such obvious issues of safety as decent lab equipment, proper fire precautions, and the like.

David McIntosh, a solicitor with 30 years' experience of handling negligence cases, sees the problem as lawyer-driven: they put the clients up to it, not the other way round. It began when lawyers were given the freedom to advertise, about 10 years ago. "It's in the interest of a lawyer to get hold of a new case and bang the drum, and then bring in group actions.

"The claims aren't immensely large, but this means that when cases go forward, they might not be worth defending. If someone gives in — whether a local authority or an insurance company — then it changes the climate." This was the case with the Richmond bullying suit. The local authority never conceded blame, but settled out of court to avoid higher damages if it lost.

Britain is immune from one of the driving forces behind America's litigious avalanche. It still maintains the principle that the loser pays — a heavy deterrent against frivolous actions. Imagine a lottery where the tickets cost £100 but the winnings were no higher than they are now. The Government tends to argue that this is not quite the case, since the legal aid system does give thousands of people the judicial equivalent *of a £1 ticket if they want to sue.*

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay, provoked a storm this summer when he proposed to tighten the rules for granting legal aid so as to cut the national bill, which has doubled over the past five years. One proposal was that all claimants would have to make a contribution, payable in advance, and forfeitable if they lost the case. But it is rare for people to win legal aid in the wilder forms of negligence case, and Lord Mackay's proposals were widely criticised as too mean, since hundreds of middle-income people are already put off taking justified cases to court for fear of losing.

SO IF generous access to legal aid does not lie behind the new willingness to sue for almost anything, what does? In the US, thousands of lawyers work on the basis of "contingency billing": you only pay a fee if you win, and the more you win the more the lawyer gets, according to a contract you sign when you start the case. "We don't have this system," says Rachel Oliver, the press officer for the Association of Personal Injury Lawyers. As Ms Oliver sees it, the danger comes from the unregulated Thatcherite loss adjusters who prey on accident victims, tempting them with bonanzas if they sue.

Other lawyers point to the fact that almost all civil cases in Britain, with the notable exception of libel actions, are decided by judges. They are neither generous with compensation awards nor particularly sympathetic to people making negligence claims. They are therefore the best defence against Americanisation.

Even in the US there are signs that the litigation boom has run out of steam. Between 1985 and 1991, the number of product liability claims in the federal courts (excluding asbestos-related suits) fell by 40 per cent. In a judgment which was hailed as a triumph of sanity, the US Supreme Court earlier this year threw out a $2 million damages award to a man who sued BMW when he discovered that the paint job of his new car had been surreptitiously touched up after it was damaged in shipping.

Advocates of tort reform point out that, while lawsuits in other "hot" areas such as sexual harassment continue to multiply unabated, changes in state laws, coupled with more conservative judges, have slowed the litigation bandwagon. "The golden days in which every new appellate decision meant some new vista was going to open, are over," says Epstein. "They've been over for 10 years."

A hero in decline

Stockhausen changed musical history. Now his scores are pathetic, says **Andrew Clements**

FIRST, it has to be said that it was a coup for Huddersfield Contemporary Music Festival to persuade Karlheinz Stockhausen to bring his travelling circus of recent pieces over from Germany. The composer is still an enormously potent figure, and the near sell-out audience for all his events testify to this. But for those of us who have followed his career over the past three decades, what we heard and witnessed in Huddersfield was profoundly sad.

Here was a composer who in the 1960s and 1970s consistently operated on the edge of the possible, breaking new ground with almost every work and producing a string of masterpieces whose arrival in London created indelible memories such as Gruppen for three orchestras, heard at the Proms in 1968.

The Huddersfield programme did include some of his masterworks — Mantra for two pianos was played by the Dutch duo of Ellen Corver and Sepp Grotenhuis, and there was a playback from a spruced-up, crystal clear new tape of the first and still arguably greatest of all electronic scores, Gesang der Junglinge, while the highlight was the Tenth Piano Piece, which Ellen Corver turned into a tour de force of elemental power. But when pieces of that calibre are compared with the pathetic new scores, which were served up in the kitschiest of dramatic trappings, it was hard to believe they could be the products of the same creative mind.

The rot first set in during the late 1970s, when Stockhausen announced grandly that he was devoting the rest of his life to the composition of the Licht cycle — seven operas, one for every day of the week, that fused a naive, almost child-like sense of theatre with music that placed total reliance on the manipulation of what Stockhausen calls formulas, saccharine modal shapes that he manipulates with all the ingenuity he used to lavish upon much more challenging musical material.

Virtually everything he has composed over the past two decades is related in some way or another to the Licht operas. With two exceptions the "new" pieces heard in Huddersfield were reworkings of material from one or other days of the cycle, plucked out of their dramatic context and given spurious dramatic treatment. Most of Stockhausen's pieces nowadays are written for the instrumentalists from his extended family — the flautist Kathinka Pasveer and clarinettist Suzanne Stephens, with whom he shares his life, and his son Markus, an outstanding trumpeter, who was the star of the first Licht opera, Donnerstag. They tour like an old-fashioned performing troupe, utterly in thrall to Stockhausen it seems, who keeps on providing them with more of these often risible scores that test their instrumental powers to the limit but with negligible musical results. And the dramatic packaging that he concocts for most of them is astonishingly inept and insulting both to the audience and to their performers.

It must be bad enough for Stephens and Pasveer to execute this embarrassing choreography, often with thinly veiled erotic overtones, without the ludicrous, degrading costumes Stockhausen insists they wear: works like Bijou for alto flute and bass clarinet, Ypsilon for solo flute and Elufa for flute and basset horn are tiny musical ideas tricked out with this cheap, naive pantomime.

Perhaps the most distressing part of the whole charade is that Stockhausen himself clearly believes he is still a pioneer, still a composer moving the art form forward. One of the events in Huddersfield was a concert-lecture, Fremde Schoenheit. Pasveer and Stephens played (in yet more absurd costumes), and Stockhausen held forth, talking of the necessity of finding the "distant beauty" of the title of his lecture in ever more distant parts of the world — and possibly beyond that, in the stars.

Trying to find the thread of his argument, it was hard not to think back to a lecture Stockhausen gave just over a quarter of a century ago to Cambridge undergraduates, which remains possibly the most memorable single musical experience of my life: there was a man literally carving out musical history, and communicating his excitement in a spell-binding way. To compare that with the composer who confronted us in Huddersfield, totally bound up in his own increasingly limited musical world, indulging his fantasies and whims without a hint of self-criticism, was more depressing than I could have ever imagined.

Stockhausen has lost his way, and as everything he has ever attempted has always been pushed to the limit, he has lost it absolutely.



Stockhausen with his muse Suzanne Stephens: locked in his musical world PHOTO: ASADOUR GUZELIAN

Out of the dog house

RAP MUSIC
Garth Cartwright

WHEN Snoop Doggy Dog strolled on to Wembley's stage in London to a collective roar he must have felt like Evander Holyfield after taking Mike Tyson's title.

In 1994, when his conviction for crack dealing and a coming murder trial made him a contemporary folk devil, a tabloid campaign demanded the deportation of the visiting Snoop.

Now cleared of the murder charge and with his new album, Tha Doggfather, sitting at No 1 in Billboard's US album chart, Snoop played the champ and invited everyone in the arena to a gangsta party.

With his processed hair, long fingernails and gold jewellery, Snoop models pimp fashions straight out of Starsky and Hutch. As a resident of Los Angeles his take on the world is undeniably cinematic and his songs are scatological street operas.

Swaggering across the stage, he raps fluidly, his vocal mannerisms and low comedy masking how nasty his rhymes are. Snoop's world view is one of sex, money, drugs and violence. His opinion of women is vile, but the *audience joined in his chants* and whooped when he launched into his anthems.

Snoop is undeniably charismatic, a rhyming Mephisto, and his appeal, both sexy and sleazy, has female fans screaming to join him on the stage. Propulsive bass patterns and hard hip-hop beats echo round the arena. Snoop and his Dogg Pound entourage treat it all like a street party. He received an ovation for his tribute to his *label mate*, the slain rapper Tupac Shakur, then introduced his fellow G-funk star, Warren G.

If Snoop was all chilled cool, Sisters With Voices tried to raise the roof and inject spirit into the soulless arena. This New York vocal duo take the classic girl-group format, inject contemporary dance beats into it and sing. And can they sing. When the leading vocalist, Coko, wailed with beautiful weariness "*Is it* just my body or does it include my heart?" you could feel the arena mount.

Blackstreet may not mean much here but in the US they became national heroes when their single Hot Diggity ended the 13-week reign of Los Del Rio's Macarena as the nation's No 1 pop song.

The band leader, Teddy Riley, is a studio prodigy, producing everyone from Bobby Brown to Michael Jackson before he was 25. Live, Blackstreet are a raucous blend of harmonising and pure hip-hop thump.

Riley and his three group-mates sweat, shimmy and encourage as much audience participation as possible. Blackstreet are old-style R'n'B rapped in Calvin Kleins, and with their energy, humour and vocal ability they made the Soul Jam not only the biggest but the best African American event to happen in London in 1996.

Lord Beaverbrook's Daily Oomph

TELEVISION
Nancy Banks-Smith

THE DAILY EXPRESS was the only paper I ever worked on which felt like the movies. I think Lord Beaverbrook (Secret Lives, Channel 4) must have seen the same movie.

The air was charged. Editors came and went as if they sat in an electric chair. One seemed patently mad to me but it was hard to tell. Everyone was expected to fizz. When one was sacked for losing his oomph, we caught each other in the cloakroom practising oomph.

It seemed to me a place of beautiful, amusing, creatures. The beautiful Anne Scott-James married the amusing Osbert Lancaster, who would wander round his desk, mourning "Give me a joke, somebody. Give me a joke."

The offices were black glass. In the foyer was Epstein's head of Beaverbrook and a mural so energetic we called it The Triumph Of Capitalism.

The Lord was never seen now but potently present. Memos arrived still sizzling like meteorites. I stared stunned at "I hear prawn cocktails are all the rage. Investigate." Someone, pushing his wheelchair and pushed for conversation, had insanely mentioned prawn cocktails. The Lord was on to something new with a pounce like a cat.

About then Prince Philip, rubbed raw by Beaverbrook's relentless vendetta against Lord Mountbatten, called the Daily Express a bloody awful newspaper. Next day Vicky's cartoon showed Beaverbrook in chains like his crusader being led to the Tower. He was saying, "He must read it or he wouldn't *know* it's a bloody awful newspaper."

And this was true. His sins were scarlet but his papers were read.

In Secret Lives he leaped off the screen like a frog, squat, big-headed, wide-mouthed. A caller at his country house, told by the butler that the Lord was out walking, replied: "On the water, I presume." Sitting on a lily pad, surely?

He was visibly, from the amateur films shown, great fun. As Rebecca West, who loved him, put it, there was no starch in his water. He seemed, she said, intensely interested in the person he was speaking to. The heat of that attention melted many women, who lived to regret it.

Lady Jean Campbell (wearing the unmistakable, foursquare family face), said: "I don't know how much he really liked women. He was very destructive towards them on the whole." But, remembering his last words to her, she began to cry.

He had a hell of a time and was increasingly disturbed about damnation. Lord Norwich, the son of Diana Cooper, who first described Beaverbrook as a gnome, gave an impression of him gruffly declaiming his favourite poem. Remember, his favourite poem.

I know what God is wroth with me
For I was born in sin.
My heart is so exceeding vile
No virtue dwells therein.
Awake I sin, asleep I sin,
I sin with every breath
When Adam fell he went to hell
And damned us all to death.

Brazen Hussies (BBC 2) opened with Julian Clary on a celestial swing, sprinkling sparkling woofle dust on the world. Woofle dust, as everyone knows, is supposed to deter elephants and it seems to work. Brazen Hussies, by Martyn Hesford, was a helium-filled, frothy affair which hardly touched solid earth.

It looked bewitching and this was obviously in the eye of the director, Elijah Moshinsky. Shot almost entirely in those androgynous shades of pink and mauve and polyester orange which don't exist in nature at all.

I was once watching Marlene Dietrich rehearse — very meticulous, Miss Dietrich — when her stage manager, finding the spotlight insufficiently flattering, cried poignantly to the gods, "Marlene pink! We must have Marlene pink!" She carried her own pink with her.

There was a perfectly pink ladies' cloakroom in Brazen Hussies which looked as if it were piped out of sugar icing. Here Robert Lindsay did a male stripper's dance (somewhat influenced by Wilson, Keppel and Betty's sand dance) which alone was worth the price of admission.

It was a stagey story, full of fantasy, fakes, illusion and lookalikes. Good-looking young men were transformed into angelic creatures, surrounded not with wings but with whirring plastic windmills.

Two despised and disappointed women, Sandra (Crissy Rock) and Maureen (Julie Walters), were transformed into Jane Russell and Marilyn Monroe. Maureen's uncle leaves her his kingdom, a little kitsch palace and a golden chamber pots full of sovereigns. This is pure panto country.

It went on too long and turned quite ugly at times. But that's showbusiness for you.

Remembrance of sunsets past

ART
Adrian Searle

FOR A LONG time, whenever I thought of Howard Hodgkin I imagined a curious amalgam of mannered aesthete and Norman Wisdom, or of Walter Pater and Mr Pooter. Here was an artist who, after months and possibly years of introspective study of his own unfinished painting, would suddenly rise from his chair, approach the carefully prepared panel — already framed in anticipation — take up a judiciously loaded brush and then, having determined the exact mark he wished to make, trip and stumble against the work, leaving half the paint accidentally lunged on to the painting and its frame, the rest on his jacket. Hodgkin would then retire, exhausted, and contemplate his next move over the coming months, or possibly even years. Thus, by degrees, his paintings would accrue the evidence of his contradictory, contrapuntal attacks.

Whenever I passed the whited-out window of Hodgkin's Bloomsbury studio I would listen for the sounds of lunging, and of curses. His paintings, I thought, were weird, and I failed to appreciate them, though plenty of interesting people, from Bruce Chatwin to Susan Sontag, did.

The painter's progress, meanwhile, was charted by a growing number of respectful commentators, while the artist himself won the Turner Prize, was given a knighthood and held prestigious international retrospectives. And, little by little, some of his paintings insinuated themselves in my brain and stuck there: the collector E J Power as a green, egg-shaped blob, a Henry Moore sculpture painted as a tiny, querulous slug spied through the undergrowth in someone's garden, paintings of interiors and landscapes that were always more seductive than decipherable. I remember only their heat, the taste of a colour combination — Hooker's green against cinnabar, whited viridian against ivory black. Or the painter's characteristic stacks of coloured bars, the internal framing devices, his feints and plunges.

For this retrospective of Hodgkin's work from 1975 to the present — that is to say, from mid-career onwards — London's Hayward Gallery has been stripped back, the walls are a darkish grey, and the rooms are deliberately underlit, dramatising Hodgkin's already flaring, pressurised colour.

The trouble is that, except in the first room, the paintings are hung too close, dissipating their individual charge. "My pictures tend to destroy each other when they are hung too closely together," Hodgkin has remarked, and here, lined up as though for an identity parade, they do indeed lose their individuality.

One is left with details, fragments and moments — hints of furnishings, window blinds, salmon-pink ruins, an exotic horizon, a glimpse of a boy on a bed, a palm tree, a raging yellow ellipse, too much red and green. But details, fragments and moments are what drive Hodgkin's art, concerned as it is with the emotional life, with intimacies of one sort or another. As much as Hodgkin's paintings evoke, they condense, and as much as they reveal, they conceal. This is both their strength and their weakness, as his paintings often end up both supercharged and wistful.

He is concerned with the recollection of atmosphere, of places and people, public and private moments. The paintings bear the traces of those moments: In Bed In Venice, Jealousy, Haven't We Met? Of Course We Have. They distil a moment, a certain time of day. Venice Sunset, painted in 1989, takes a hoary old postcard subject and turns it into something new, a cancerous cinder of a sun floating on a table-top lagoon. Rather than sinking in the west, Hodgkin's sun is a sort of insult, blighting the painting, an otherwise routine green-over-red circumlocution of the picture surface, with its melancholy, moribund presence. But then Venice afternoons often end in a fractious mood.

Complicated feelings, complicated guy, complicated paintings. Hodgkin's paintings, in memory of dinners and afternoons, of travels and conversations, of sex and passion and its aftermath, are traced in the memory of the senses, of the body and of the eye, in a colour, a pattern, a shape. He makes the past reappear in tangible form, not as biographical detail, but as memory repossessed, made concrete and present. Hodgkin is a Proustian who has never read Proust, a Freudian who has never studied Freud (as he admits in the exchanges with John Elderfield in the catalogue).

HODGKIN'S preoccupations as a painter are appealing. The further they are removed from my mental image, from the painter's paroxysms and from the fashion of the moment, the stronger and more beguiling they appear. And what curious paintings they are, with their overpainted frames, their skewed stabs and swipes, their manic pointillisms, their dottiness. Their high taste and their shrill vulgarity, the mad cookery of their layers, their cancellations and revisions, make for a difficult and not altogether pleasurable experience.

Hodgkin himself complains when people describe his paintings as beautiful. He'd doubtless complain, too, if we described them as ugly, over-ripe and gawky. Their pleasure, often, is that they almost teeter over into incoherence, saved from disaster by a swerve, a sudden jolt, an unexpected reversal.

Even at his most indecisive, Hodgkin drags something back from the margin of chaos. That is one of his haphazard strengths as a painter. If life is chaotic in spite of what we do to impose order on it Hodgkin, in his paintings, invents his own chaos, only in order to use it as a metaphor and to conquer it. It's easier in painting than in life.

Howard Hodgkin and Beyond Reason: Art And Psychosis at the Hayward Gallery until Febuary 5

Keith and Kathy Sachs (1988-91)

Stubborn Siberian

OBITUARY
Edison Denisov

OF THE three composers who dominated Soviet music after the death of Shostakovich, Edison Denisov, who has died aged 67, as the eldest, became the leader and protector of young composers threatened by the powerful Soviet musical establishment. Together with Sofia Gubaidulina and Alfred Schnittke, Denisov was the third member of the "Holy Trinity" as younger Russian musicians used to call them, half joking, half in awe.

The courage and single-mindedness Denisov displayed in his early years stood him in good stead for the rest of his life. He himself said that it was "my Siberian stubbornness" that enabled him, in the stifling world of post-war Soviet music, to evolve a musical language unlike that of any Russian composer before him, and to create with it an astonishing profusion of works in almost every medium, from electronics and the most intimate chamber music through to symphonies, concertos, films, operas and ballets.

In 1951, with Shostakovich's warm encouragement, Denisov entered the Moscow Conservatoire. After graduation, he stayed on, teaching counterpoint and analysis and, later, orchestration. As his fame, especially in the West, grew through the 1970s and 1980s, he applied to teach composition. He was refused and it was not until 1990, when the old musical order had virtually collapsed, that Denisov was finally granted this "right".

With the short orchestral piece Peinture (1970), which strikes a delicate and evocative balance between the sonoric and coloristic effects of the then avant-garde, and an unexpectedly romantic and Russian expressiveneness drawn from Glinka, Denisov found his true language. He poured out music in a style which sometimes seemed to change little, but which adapted itself fluently to almost every medium. Particularly strong are many concertos he wrote for such distinguished soloists as Heinz Holliger, Gidon Kremer and Yuri Bashmet. These pieces allowed him not only to write virtuoso solo parts, but to stretch and elaborate his rich orchestral technique as well.

For the last four years, Denisov suffered the effects of a nearly fatal car crash and later inoperable cancer. He continued, even during long periods of chemotherapy in a Paris hospital, to produce two more concertos, a completion and orchestration of Schubert's oratorio Lazarus, and a second symphony. Whenever he could he returned to Moscow and to his friends and his students at the Conservatory. A new chamber piece, Women And Birds, was performed in Moscow on the day he died, by the ACM ensemble which he founded. A few days before, on a trip to Germany he heard his Requiem performed. He returned to Paris to face death with the "Siberian stubbornness" with which he had faced every other obstacle.

He leaves a son and a daughter from his first marriage and two daughters from his second.

Gerard McBurney

Edison Vasellevich Denisov, composer, born April 6, 1929; died November 24, 1996

The family that preys together . . .

CINEMA
Derek Malcolm

STARS who turn to direction rarely make much of a name for themselves, Clint Eastwood being the exception that proves the rule. But at least Jodie Foster, who made Little Man Tate about a child prodigy in 1991, has improved upon her first effort with **Home for the Holidays**.

Perhaps the first reason for this is the screenplay by W D Richter, which is driven by character rather than by plot. This is a story that has sharp echoes for many of us as we prepare to go home for the Christmas holidays. Only its Thanksgiving Day in the film.

The woman going home is Holly Hunter's Claudia, a slightly scatty picture-restorer in Chicago who is a single mother. Her recalcitrant daughter (Claire Danes) has announced she is about to lose her virginity, while she has just ended an unsuccessful affair with her boss. His response is to make her redundant.

She is not looking forward to the holiday break. Baltimore seems like the back of beyond, and her loving parents (Anne Bancroft and Charles Durning) still treat her like a child and seem certain to ask her awkward questions about the direction her life without realising that theirs is an equal mess.

Only her gay brother (Robert Downey Jr) seems likely to prove a soul-mate of a sort, and he arrives home with a slightly camp friend (Dylan McDermott) whom she assumes is his new lover. No one else in the family appears to know quite what's what: Thanksgiving dinner, attended by other members of the brood, becomes a chaotic mess.

This is a comedy, but one that digs reasonably sharply into the American psyche, so hooked on family values that the hysteria engendered when those values are threatened makes Guernica look like a fête.

The playing is for the most part expert. Bancroft and Durning are very funny as the parents trying to preserve the proprieties but hopelessly unable to keep the holiday reasonably sane. Hunter, too, upended by the fact that her brother's boyfriend seems to be taking rather more of an interest in her than in him, adds to the heavily pointed fun.

Unfortunately, Downey seems determined to deliver farce and turns in so overbearing a performance that it totally disturbs the balance of everything else.

In the end, the drama that lies beneath the jokes seems more than a little schematic. Whether it is Downey's over-playing or Foster's reluctance to go the final mile in dissecting the fearful nature of family tensions is a moot point. There are plenty of dangerous sparks, but somehow the brush fire of real drama never quite happens.

Spanish director Alex de la Iglesia was first recommended to our attention by Pedro Almodóvar, who helped him raise what little money he needed for Acción Mutante, a sci-fi horror of some waywardness but a lot of energy. **The Day of the Beast** is a better prospect.

This ironic dark comedy has the admirable Alex Angulo as an eccentric professor of theology who decides that the Antichrist is to be born on Christmas Day in Madrid. It is Christmas Eve and, if he's to meet and thwart the Devil, he must do as much evil as he can, and so he enlists the aid of a heavy-metal groupie (the equally good Santiago Segura) and a TV para-psychologist (Armando De Razza).

The film, a great hit in Spain, is sharply characterised and has many good (and funny) ideas. It's lively and irreverent but runs out of steam about two-thirds of the way through.

Ching Siu-Tung's **A Chinese Ghost Story**, made in Hong Kong in 1987 and now given a welcome revival, can teach Iglesia a thing or two about visual tropes as it tells its tale of a wandering scholar beset by ghosts and an irascible swordsman when he falls for a beautiful female apparition.

Produced by Tsui Hark, the film has humour and charm as well as boundless atmosphere and energy. Leslie Cheung (the blundering young scholar) and Wu Ma (the swordsman) are impeccably cast.

Of course, we look at such entertainments with an eye that's a trifle touristy. But this is a wondrous example of popular cinema at its best, with a lightning rhythm Hollywood rarely achieves, and a striking visual eloquence.

Irish tale wins Guardian prize

Dan Glaister

THE annual Guardian Fiction Prize has been won by Seamus Deane for his novel Reading In The Dark, about a childhood in Ireland.

The judges said Mr Deane's book was one without equal this year: "A gripping tale was told through an incomparably rich and poetic style. It had lyricism, mystery and passion; it was superbly controlled, beautifully paced."

The other books on the shortlist were The Cast Iron Shore by Linda Grant, Anita And Me by Meera Syal, A Perfect Execution by Tim Binding, The Insult by Rupert Thomson, and Asylum by Patrick McGrath. Three of the six were first novels.

Previous winners of the Guardian prize include J G Ballard, Pat Barker and Graham Swift. Last year's prize was won by James Buchan for Heart's Journey In Winter.

The prize was established in 1965 for works of fiction showing originality and promise by a British or Commonwealth writer. The winner receives a cheque for £3,000.

Laura Cumming adds: Reading In The Dark could have won the prize for any one of the books it ingeniously contains. It is a thriller of such enigmatic depth that even when all is revealed, its mystery does not dissolve. A childhood memoir of Derry in the fifties glowing with sudden excitements, shadowed by family feuds, it is also a political history in which sectarian violence is miniaturised in playground stand-offs. As a portrait of the young artist, it is oddly angled, beautifully worded, but eventually it transforms into a requiem for Deane's father, a Catholic docker whose calm integrity proves to be heroic.

All this is achieved with extraordinary brevity. The book is written in short, self-contained stories, each of which transmits a burning after-image. The black-suited mute who hovers at the junction, the crazy at the library who preys on the children, the torched distillery which looms through the fog: they seem incidental, yet their presence haunts every chapter that follows. Eddie, the uncle who has long since vanished, still lingers in the air, a rumour on the street, a Republican legend or a police informer whose murdered corpse has never been found. The truth is embedded deep within an accumulating drama which the child must closely scan.

Deane recreates Derry in a strong, Ulster gothic: bonfires shoot scarlet smoke into the night on sectarian anniversaries, trench war is waged by torchlight on a plague of seething rats.

The political is always apparent in the personal, as the past always glimmers through the present. Reading In The Dark was clearly our prize-winner: a masterpiece of eloquence distilled.



'Boyd Fortin, Sweetwater, Texas, 1979' from Richard Avedon's astonishing In The American West: 1979-1984 (Abrams £55). The cast of characters in what Avedon calls 'this silent theater' is hugely varied – oil workers, coal miners, drifters, waitresses. But they are all seen starkly, as found objects, against his trademark white background. And, of course, those 'artful' borders

Crime

Lucretia Stewart

Easy Meat, by John Harvey (Heinemann, £15.99)

EASY MEAT is a welcome return to form after the disappointing Living Proof. Harvey's work is always distinguished by its compassion and humanity and here he tackles the hard issues: homosexuality, single parents, women who still want sex, even though they are older and have lost the bloom and ready allure of youth. Charlie Resnick, Harvey's jazz-loving, cat-loving, vaugely slobbish detective, demonstrates a real empathy with the criminals and low-life with whom he has to deal, never patronising, never dismissive, always concerned. As a result, he arouses a sympathy and compassion in the reader that echoes his own.

Gladly The Cross-Eyed Bear, by Ed McBain (Hodder & Stoughton, £16.99)

I HAVE to confess to a sneaking preference for McBain's Matthew Hope novels over his 87th Precinct series. Set in Florida, they have a relaxed tropical flavour that you don't find in the gritty New York books. And lawyer Matthew Hope is a dish who used to drive a Karmann Ghia. This is Hope's first case since he nearly died after being shot and everyone, from his ex-wife to his partner to his girlfriend, is hovering around waiting to see if he remembers how to tie his shoelaces. Sexy, squinting Elaine Commins is a young toy designer and Matthew's client. She says that she designed Gladly, the cross-eyed bear; her former employer, Brett Toland, says that he did. It's up to the court to decide. But soon murder enters the picture.

Mind Prey, by John Sandford (HarperCollins, £16.99 hbk, £5.99 pbk)

JOHN SANDFORD is a brilliant and totally underrated writer. Mind Prey is his seventh psychological thriller about Detective Lucas Davenport, and a match for its predecessors. In this one, a somewhat unbalanced ex-patient kidnaps psychiatrist Andi Manette and her two young daughters. As well as the horror, Sandford skilfully portrays Davenport's complex character — 50 per cent hard man, 50 per cent new man.

Cadillac Jukebox, by James Lee Burke (Orion, £16.99)

LEE BURKE is also — it is hard to credit — underrated; perhaps he is simply unknown. Lee Burke's books are as much about Louisiana as anything else and deliver an understanding of the American South worthy of Faulkner. There is, however, a kind of Southern gothic intricacy both to his prose and his plots that might fox the casual reader. Persevere. It's infinitely rewarding — this is a rich, deep, soupy story that is as complex and heavy as a plate of jambalaya.

Deaf before dishonour

Peter Holland

The Spectacle of History: Speech, Text and Memory at the Iran-Contra Hearings
by Michael Lynch and David Bogen
Duke University Press 348pp
£47.50 (£17.95 pbk)

Knee Deep in Dishonour: The Scott Report and its Aftermath
by Richard Norton-Taylor, Mark Lloyd and Stephen Cook
Gollancz 207pp £9.99

WHERE can you find a real hero these days? In July 1987, Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver North of the US Marine Corps appeared before the Joint House Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition (to give the Iran-Contra hearings their full name). For six days American television carried live coverage of his evidence. Viewers who at first phoned to complain that their favourite day-time soaps had been cancelled later phoned back to say that it was the best programme they had seen for years. What they saw was not only good court-room drama; they also watched one of the finest acting performances they would ever have the chance to see.

Aided and abetted by his lawyer, Brendan Sullivan, North took control of the hearing. Even his costume was carefully chosen: though he was being questioned about his work as a staff member of the National Security Council, a post he held as a civilian, North wore the full dress uniform of his military rank, complete with medal ribbons. He came across as disarmingly innocent, the all-American boy confronting his inquisitors, a bright-eyed hero.

Television cameras were not present at the hearings of the Inquiry into the Export of Defence Equipment to Iraq chaired by Sir Richard Scott (actually, the full title of the Scott inquiry is about twice as long as that). Scott himself, more than any of those who appeared before him, became the focus of media attention but it was not a position he ever felt comfortable with.

Scott had no desire to be a celebrity judge. He was not prepared to summarise his findings. Announcing that "the final report — and the final report alone — contains my concluded views," Scott flew off to Ireland on publication day to go hunting, his favourite hobby, leaving the massed journalists, primed by the Government's press-pack, to try to make what sense they could of 1,800 pages of prose of exemplary judicial dryness.

Where North's surface naivety covered a remarkably sophisticated control over his image and his testimony, Scott's surface urbanity covered an equally remarkable naivety about the processes of spectacle that create history. Trying to be economical with his own *actualité* — in Alan Clark's memorable phrase that brought the Matrix-Churchill prosecution to a halt — Scott sought to encourage people to look less at his reality than at the solid weight of information and commentary, analysis and interpretation in the five thick volumes of his report. It was a tactic that could never have worked. The volumes of the Scott report became an object, not a text, their contents unread and unknown.

Richard Norton-Taylor and his co-authors set out to reveal what the Scott report did contain, to reveal the facts about the arms sales, the Whitehall shenanigans, the failed prosecutions which make up the whole business. With the playwright John McGrath, Norton-Taylor has already turned scenes from the hearings into a drama, Half The Picture. But Knee Deep In Dishonour is neither a drama nor an analysis of a drama. Instead it lucidly and brilliantly takes us through the maze of acronyms that define the committee workings Scott investigated, showing precisely what Scott found, revealing the self-interested chaos that constitutes government.

The nearest it can offer to a hero is the unlikely figure of Michael Heseltine, whose reluctance to assent to the public interest immunity certificate he was being urged to sign changes his image from an erstwhile Tarzan into a man of principle in some political novel by Trollope.

LYNCH and Bogen, two American academics, have written an exhilarating analysis of the drama of Oliver North's testimony. Though it comes with a forbidding "Methodological Appendix" on "Postanalytic Ethnomethodology" and though their transcripts of the dialogue come with all the conventions of conversation analysis, The Spectacle Of History turns out to be a surprisingly clear and enjoyable account of how history is performed. For the history of the Iran-Contra affair was a matter of performance, symbolised by the photograph North's attorney held up showing his client standing dwarfed by the stack of papers that made up the documentation for the hearings. Ollie stood tall but the paperwork stood taller.

The papers had already been reconstructed to provide their own historical narrative as North and his superior, Admiral Poindexter, with the careful help of the head of the CIA, William Casey, had destroyed documents to create entirely false chronologies of the events that the committee were investigating.

North, in his best soundbite, wryly announced "my memory has been shredded". Memory, in this bizarre world, is not what you remember but what other people can tell you that you knew: Scott's ministerial victims often had to ask their civil servants to tell them which documents they had seen and hence what they could be considered to have known, a wonderfully ridiculous set-up.

Scott was concerned to get at the facts. But he seems to have been surprised by the way he was consistently outmanoeuvred.

His American counterparts knew that their investigations were a theatrical event, in which North could play on all the resonances of American film history, becoming by turns John Wayne, Clint Eastwood and, especially, James Stewart confronting a hostile Congress in Mr Smith Goes To Washington.

From Aeschylus's Oresteia onwards, drama has returned again and again to the exhilaration of the courtroom. But Oliver North, granted limited immunity from prosecution for appearing, was, like Orestes, finally acquitted of criminal charges. After one particularly long and stylish answer to a question, North was asked by the committee chairman, Daniel Inouye, "Was that response from a written text?" Where the investigators were improvising, they found that Oliver North was not only actor but playwright. He and his advisers had written the script for his appearance on the stage of history.

Nearer, my God, to thee

Michael Mason

Death in the Victorian Family
by Pat Jalland
Oxford 464pp £25

TEN YEARS ago, Pat Jalland published a deservedly admired book about the private family worlds which lay behind élite political life in the late 19th century. Women, Marriage And Politics was an absorbing piece of "experiential history" grounded in the raw manuscript evidence of family archives. Now Jalland has tried to do for death what she did so successfully for female domestic experience. She has taken the manuscript collections of 55 middle- and upper-class families, and analysed what they record about dying, death, and death's aftermath.

The unmediated speech of these documents is often intensely vivid and moving. We are confronted (via his diary) with the anguish of Archibald Tait as he watched a fourth daughter, a 10-year old and the most beloved, die of the scarlet fever which had already killed three in a month. The man I have disingenuously referred to as "Archibald Tait" was actually the Dean of Carlisle, eventually to become Archbishop of Canterbury.

Was there a Victorian way of death? Jalland declares at the start of her inquiry that the Victorians had a "preoccupation" with death. But she shows that there was a widespread reaction from early in Victoria's reign against the ostentation and elaborateness which had characterised élite rituals of death in the late 18th century.

To be fair to Jalland, she appeals more to alleged ideological novelties as the cause of a distinctive Victorian approach to death. Her book is the first really to grapple with the connection between personal behaviour and public precept in this area. There have been many studies of the changing theology of hell, but none that has asked what this story meant for ordinary Victorians racked by terminal illness, or watching at a deathbed.



Angel by my side . . . cemeteries reflect Victorians' preoccupation with their own mortality

Dean Tait came to the view that his appalling series of losses was God's way of chastising his lapses into worldliness (while Charles Darwin responded to deaths among family and friends with a studied focus on physical realities).

It is tempting to suppose that Dean Tait actually experienced death quite differently from us, because he appeals to beliefs which we find so foreign. But I doubt if the belief-experience link is so pat, where death is concerned. When men and women confronted with death go on to assert God's providence, their beliefs here are more like actions than states of mind: defensive strategies in which they deploy their metaphysical resources for further mitigation of the evil, for further defence against pain and fear.

Why should they struggle in this way to assert faith over commonsense? Because to add to their human losses the loss also of God would make life quite unbearable.

"What should we do without that faith?" asks one of Jalland's subjects. "One would lose heart at the very first start — with one's first loss." Charlotte Brontë said something similar after the death of Emily. Thus for these Christian Victorians, belief is built on the very spectre of unbelief. And thus sanity is rescued.

Majestic flowed the Don

Matthew Engel

Bradman: An Australian Hero
by Charles Williams
Little, Brown 336pp £20

Wally Hammond: The Reasons Why
by David Foot
Robson Books 282pp £17.95

HEREWITH a brief guide to Britain's cricketing forefathers. First there was W G Grace, patriarch of the game and law unto himself. Then there was Jack Hobbs, a batsman of such gentle mastery that he was inclined to give his wicket away once he had reached his hundred and let the others have a crack.

But the batsmen who came after Hobbs were more implacable figures. There was Walter Hammond of Gloucestershire, who by the late 1920s was recognised as the greatest batsman in the world. And he would have remained so, but for a country boy from New South Wales who was even better.

Don Bradman superseded and surpassed Hammond. To counter him, England had to invent a new form of bowling ("bodyline") that would eventually become universally recognised as unfair. Bradman rose above crisis, the backbiting of rivals, and regular bouts of illness. He became a knight, Australian cricket's foremost administrator and then something close to a patron saint — not just of cricket, but of his country.

Hammond, in contrast, died in 1965, exiled in South Africa, close to both poverty and oblivion. He does not rate a mention in the general history books. In any case, England arguably could not have a Bradman, because society is too complex and formal to admit that a mere sportsman could occupy such a central role in national culture.

For all that, Bradman (88 this year) was not a wholly unsullied hero in his day. He feuded with the cricketing authorities and some of the respect of his team-mates was tempered with loathing. But Bradman became a man of gravitas, whose reputation waxed with the years. He is the nearest the country has to a homegrown Queen Mum.

So it is right and proper that he should get a biography that consciously sets out to treat him as a great Australian and place him in his social context. Charles Williams, the only man — surely? — to captain Oxford at cricket and go on to be deputy leader of the Labour peers, writes well, and handles the available evidence with great judiciousness: it is a very fair book and a good synthesis of the subject.

However, his other sources tend to be secondary or even tertiary: quotes that happen to appear in one of the existing Bradman biographies. The fact that the three first-hand interviews he cites were with figures from the English cricketing establishment — E W Swanton, Sir Colin Cowdrey and Doug Insole — brings home the point that this is a Pommie book, written from a distance. The definitive work on Bradman and Australia will smell more of both sweat and gum-leaves.

In contrast, David Foot's work on Hammond really is definitive. He has grasped the nettle of Hammond's difficult character, possibly even grasped it a shade too firmly for some tastes; several previous biographies, in keeping with the normal cricketing reticence, steered away from suggestions that Hammond once caught syphilis on a West Indies tour. Foot nails it as the truth and, forgivably, does go on about it.

He is intrigued by the possibility that the mercury Hammond would have been given as a cure may have been responsible for his later erratic behaviour. There is another line of thought. Was Hammond destroyed by what Foot calls his "obsession" with Bradman, the man he could never master: Wellington to his Napoleon; Jerry to his Tom?

Kitchen wisdom

Claire Tomalin

A Woman in History: Eileen Power 1889-1940
by Maxine Berg
Cambridge 308pp £15.95

HERE'S a puzzle. Eileen Power and Virginia Woolf were contemporaries. Both achieved equal eminence in their respective spheres — as historian and novelist — and both died untimely during the second world war. Each had a unique gift, each had much more to give. Yet today, for a thousand who respond to the name of Woolf, few would recognise that of Eileen Power.

Yet Power achieved much of what Woolf hoped for women. She had a chair in history. She wrote and edited standard historical works. She ran the Economic History Review. She encouraged younger historians through her seminars. She used journalism and broadcasting to make history attractive to a wide public, believing passionately that the young must learn history to understand modern politics. Wherever she went, America included, she lectured to packed audiences.

Her Medieval People, published in 1924 (the year before Mrs Dalloway), still sells today. She was also a highly charismatic woman, a feminist who moved in dazzling intellectual circles, her life as unlike the stereotype of the woman don of her day as is possible to imagine. From her house in London's Mecklenburgh Square, she sent out invitations to memorable parties with "Dancing in the Kitchen", and she was famous for her Paris clothes, her late hours and her beauty as well as her hard work. Like many who die young, she seems to have filled the years that she was given impossibly full.

Power married late — only three years before her death in 1940 — a husband considerably younger than herself. He was well placed to make sure her memory should be celebrated, since he was also a historian, his career encouraged by her. But this did not happen. Now, happily, she has found an ideal biographer in Maxine Berg, herself a distinguished academic historian, able to unravel and explain the development of Power's career and reputation as well as warmly sympathetic to the private woman.

Here, too, is quite a story. Power's life began with a spectacular Victorian scandal when her Irish father, a charming and apparently well-to-do Manchester stockbroker, was sent to prison for fraud, leaving his wife and three tiny daughters to face shame and bankruptcy. His wife took refuge with her family, changed her name and faded away, dying when Eileen, the eldest, was only 14. But before the mother died she started her daughters on the best education she could find, beginning with the Girls' Public Day School Trust. Eileen sailed on unstoppably — scholarship to Cambridge and first-class degree, scholarship to Paris for postgraduate work, Charlotte Snow fellowship at the LSE, and so on.

By 1913 she was director of studies in history at her old Cambridge college, Girton. In 1920, she won a fellowship to travel round the world — the first woman to win it — and fell in love with China and India, feeling that she was witnessing in those countries something like the medieval societies on which her research now centred. Power was an economic historian, but one who saw economics as bound up with social history, and she specialised in the Middle Ages.

She was particularly interested in writing about women, and about the "unnamed and undistinguished masses of people, now sleeping in unknown graves". She quoted Acton's remark — "The great historian now takes his meals in the kitchen" — and wrote of her own Medieval People, "This book is chiefly concerned with the kitchens of history".

She worked closely with R H Tawney, who loved her dearly, and inspired deep affection or love in most who met her, men and women alike. Arnold Toynbee had to be ejected firmly from her bedroom, and Glwadys Jones, her closest woman friend from the Girton days was devastated when Power married.

Power herself found no difficulty in maintaining diverse close relationships. What the sexual component was, Berg does not speculate, rightly I think, because Power was more dedicated to her work than to any one person. She mothered her two younger sisters throughout her life and flirted with both sexes, but without danger or malice to others.

SHE got herself engaged to the epicene Reginald Johnston, whom she first met in China when he was tutor to the Emperor, more because of their common passion for the place, you feel, than for any other reason. He was much older than her, and kept postponing the wedding until she cheerfully accepted that he wanted only friendship. Equally, her marriage to the young Munia Postan, a Russian refugee who became her student, seems to have been a by-product of their work together. She helped him to get a chair in Cambridge which she would undoubtedly have been given had she applied. There is something strange and sad in his failure to do much with the papers Power left — as Tawney and others who bitterly mourned her hoped he would.

Berg explains how Eileen Power was remembered more for her personality than her work; and how its impact, and especially her attempt to draw anthropological and sociological concepts into economic history, was overlooked by subsequent English historians. It is good, then, to see a historian of this generation speaking up for Power so ably, so interestingly and with such authority. What a woman, what a scholar, what a shining example she was to all who believe that history is an essential and humane study.

A Woman in History can be ordered for the special price of £12.99 from Books@TheGuardianWeekly

Gobble gobble gobble

Mark Cocker

MELEAGRIS GALLOPAVO is a bird with an extraordinarily cosmopolitan heritage. It was first domesticated by the indigenous inhabitants of Mexico, hundreds, possibly thousands, of years before Europeans arrived. By the time the Spanish conquistadors invaded they found the creatures strutting the courtyards and back streets of most Mesoamerican cities.

Despite these pre-Columbian origins, the bird has eventually become inseparable from the most hallowed date in the Christian calendar. In a few days' time they will appear on someone's dinner table in many countries in the world. Curiously, when it does arrive none of the dinner guests will refer to it by any of its original American titles, like *totolin*. They'll use one of several European names previously applied to a gamebird actually from Africa (the guineafowl). But nowadays there's only one turkey, the *sine qua non* of the Christmas spread.

However, I suspect Rookery Farm in the village of Thuxton, Norfolk, is one of the few places where this creature enjoys an almost sacred status. Here, the owners have been rearing turkeys for generations and are some of the last practitioners in an old regional industry. In previous centuries a common sight of early winter was the Norfolk poulterers driving their birds on foot to the London markets, like Smithfield — a tradition that led the turkeys to become known as *Norfolk Blacks*. It is this same breed, some of the oldest genetic stock in Britain and closely resembling the wild American species, that has been almost uniquely preserved at Thuxton.

A more impressive domestic fowl it would be hard to imagine. The stags stand almost waist-high and are a rich brown-black glossed with green, while on the flight feathers there are areas of pale chequering. The bare skin of its head is a creamy white sometimes tinged blue, although more usually this shade deepens to the colour of fresh blood, especially on the bird's wattle.

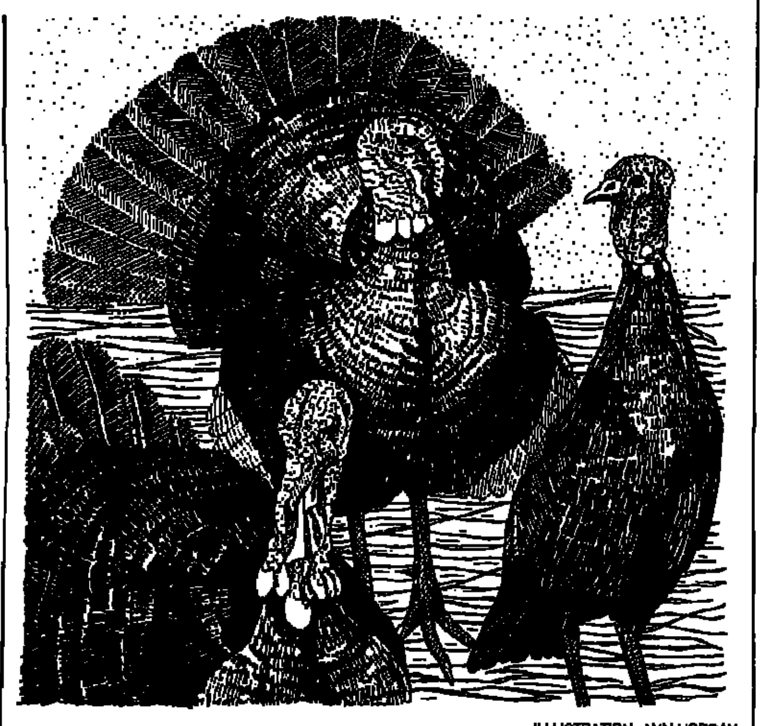


ILLUSTRATION: ANN HOBDAY

A big male can weigh more than 20lb, but as the current owner of Rookery Farm reassured me, size isn't everything.

Current factory farm practices, using a fast-growing, white-plumaged breed developed after the second world war, can produce birds of more than 70lb. Unfortunately these annemic monsters are incapable of flight or breeding and are only just able to move, which is just as well, given the concentration-camp environment they endure. To prevent fighting in the cramped conditions the beak is cut down to a blunt scoop fit only for shovelling up high-protein feeds.

Other dietary ingredients are regular antibiotics, without which the hothouse creatures would never flourish. Occasionally the remains of old turkey carcasses find their way back into the feed, which gives a whole new meaning to the concept of recycling. Yet it must be said, the person driving these methods is not the producer, but the consumer: the choice is ours.

It is only with an awareness of the background to our conventional Christmas dinner that one can fully appreciate methods at Thuxton. Here, turkeys are free range and organically reared, feeding on beans and corn specifically grown for them at the farm. They spend most of their lives outdoors acquiring a hardiness that precludes the need for any drugs.

As I wandered the labyrinth of outbuildings, enjoying the constant spectacle of the turkey flocks, (not to mention the stags' outbursts of convulsive gobbling) and sensing the blend of human values which underlies their environment — a mixture of sound commerce and simple agricultural decency — I can't help regretting that Rookery Farm and its products might be considered by some as an expensive luxury.

Chess Leonard Barden

WHILE sponsors for UK chess are scarce, Wrexham's annual tournament has continued into its third year as a unique partnership of public and private money, grandmaster and amateur organisation. The council provides a venue, the Redwither Tower; local fibreglass firm Owens-Corning is the sponsor; Wrexham's own G M, Nigel Davies, invites the players; club members write the games bulletin.

Davies has an excellent record on his home patch, winning in 1994 and finishing runner-up in October's renewal to Chris Ward, the British champion. Ward's recent successes have earned him the GM title, and his first-prize decider at Wrexham showed shrewd psychology.

The Indian summers of septuagenarian GMs Smyslov and Bronstein, coupled with the good results of the veteran team in their annual match with women players, have attracted more senior GMs back to the arena. Many follow Smyslov's approach of aiming for early queen swaps so as to evade opening theory and reach simplified positions where their strategic experience counts.

But in the recent Bacrot v Smyslov match, the French 13-year-old preyed on the ex-world champion's anxiety to exchange queens and lured him into dubious endgames for which the teenager had prepared well.

Ward used the same technique against Hungary's Csom, aware that the 56-year-old normally aims at a draw with the black pieces. Csom's game was defensible until a nervous queen swap brought an ending where his knights were no match for Ward's free-ranging bishops.

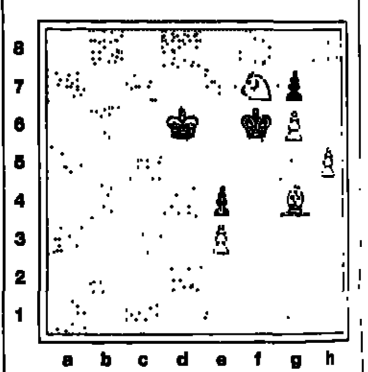
Ward v Csom

1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 e6 3 Nc3 Bb4 4 g3 c5 5 Nf3 cxd4 6 Nxd4 a6 7 Bg2 Qc7 8 0-0!? Nc6 Signalling Black's conservative approach. If Qxc4 9 Bg5 with compensation for a pawn. **9 Nb3 d6** Not Be7? 10 Bf4 d6 11 c5. **10 Bf4 e5 11 Bd2 Bxc3 12 Bxc3 Be6 13 Qd3 0-0 14 Rac1 h6 15 h3 Rac8 16 Kh2 Ne7 17 Nd2 d5** *Black* has defended well and now provokes exchanges.

18 Bb4 dxc4 19 Qa3 Rfe8 20 b3 Nc6 21 Bd6 Qd7 22 Nxc4 Bxc4 23 Rxc4 Nd4 24 Rxc8 Qxc8 25 Qc5! Qxc5? One swap too far. Better is Qe6! when the obvious 26 Bxb7 puts White's bishops in a tangle by Nb5 27 Bc7 Qd7 28 Rc1 Re7.

26 Bxc5 Nd7 27 Ba3 Nc6 28 Rd1 Nf8 29 Rd6 Rc8 30 Bd5 a5 31 Kg2 h5 32 h4 a4 Else 33 Bb2 and Black soon loses a pawn. **33 bxa4 Ra8 34 Bb3 Na5 and Black lost on time** — an achievement in itself with the new Fischer clocks, which at Wrexham gave players an extra 20 seconds for every move made. After 35 Rd5 Ng6 36 Rb5 Ra7 37 Bb2 White is a safe pawn up and will either win the e5 pawn or gradually infiltrate his pieces.

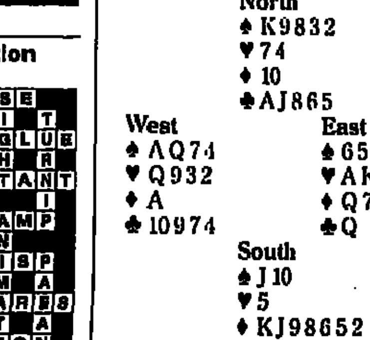
No 2451



White mates in six moves (by D Y Mills, 1881). All Black's replies are forced in a single line of play, and the trick is to find White's right move order.

No 2450: 1 Ra2. If e2 2 Qd4 (threat 3 Qd6) exd4 3 Rxe2 mate. If B any 2 Qb4 and 3 Qd6. If Nd2 2 Qa3 Ne4 3 Nd8. If c3 2 Qxb3+ Ke7 3 Qf7. If Ke7 2 Qxe5+ Kf8 3 Qf6.

Quick crossword no. 344



Across

5 Sauce for beef (11)
7 Alter (news material) (4)
8 Informant or indicator (8)
9 Surgical pincers (7)
11 Lowdown informant (5)
13 Move (carriages) around (5)
14 Like Ethelred, not like scouts (7)
16 Slaughter-house (8)
17 Become a member (4)
18 Enough to make a difference (11)

Down

1 Spoilt child (4)
2 Symbol of bureaucracy (3,4)
3 Girl's name — come forth! (5)
4 Remoteness (8)
5 Rabies (11)
6 Sauce for asparagus (11)
10 War (or other) memorial (8)
12 Type of barometer (7)
15 New — book! (5)
17 Derisive remark (4)

Last week's solution

Bridge Zia Mahmood

NEMESIS appears in many guises, but for her most recent visit to me she took the form of a loquacious Australian. This character, well known for his wild bidding and the dubious ability to hold a glass of beer, a cigarette and 13 cards in one hand, is one of the most feared opponents in the big game at TGR's. The only trouble is that his partners fear him even more.

This deal resulted in the unusual score of minus 900. Your challenge is to attempt to deduce what auction could have led to such a result. Of course, I'll give you a few clues, starting with the deal itself. North-South vulnerable, dealer North:

North
♠ K9832
♥ 74
♦ 10
♣ AJ865

West
♠ AQ74
♥ Q932
♦ A
♣ 10974

East
♠ 65
♥ AKJ1086
♦ Q743
♣ Q

South
♠ J10
♥ 5
♦ KJ98652
♣ K32

The bidding started like this:

South	West	North	East
Zia		Nemesis	
		No	1♥
No	4♦(1)		

(1) A splinter bid, showing diamond shortage and heart support.

For your last clue, the final contract was not doubled.

Confused? So was I, because when West bid four diamonds my partner emerged with a double. Now, if you or I doubled an artificial bid, we would be showing length in the suit, suggesting a lead or a possible sacrifice to partner. But *this North meant it as a takeout* double, showing length in spades and clubs!

Why he would want to play in spades or clubs when we had no values and West, with short diamonds, probably had quite a few black cards is a mystery to me. Besides, since he and West had one diamond each, and East a likely maximum of four since he had opened one heart, was I not marked with great length in the diamond suit? *In any case,* when East bid four hearts, I decided that my seven-card support for what I foolishly believed to be partner's suit was worth a mention. "Five diamonds," I said confidently. "Double," said West, with equal firmness — the difference was that his was justified. *Until now,* I had no real idea that I was in the middle of a nightmare, but the horrible truth was just about to surface.

"Five hearts," said North, inviting me to choose another suit — at the five or six level, vulnerable against not!

But East passed, and I decided that here was a chance to give my dear partner his choice of ways to commit suicide. I passed as well, expecting West to double and North to bid one of his confounded suits. But West, confident that he could beat five hearts by a lot, decided to take the sure profit.

So it was that five hearts by North — undoubled — became the final contract on this deal. I must admit that, to his credit, my partner played the hand well, contriving an endplay on East which allowed him to escape for eight down.

Yes, I know I said the score was minus 900. Despite the general hilarity, East and West did not overlook the 100 for honours!

Rugby Union Tour match: Barbarians 12 Australia 39

Burke leads charge in runaway victory

Robert Armstrong at Twickenham

THE loss of Tim Stimpson with concussion for a mandatory three weeks has set England a tricky selection problem for Saturday's international against Argentina at Twickenham. When the coach Jack Rowell announces the team, Mike Catt may find himself switched from fly-half to his old position of full-back, allowing Alex King to come off the bench and win his first cap in the No 10 shirt.

It was a body-blow to the Barbarians as well as to England when Stimpson, who had made an impressive start to his international career in two games last month, was carried off midway through the first half of an embarrassingly one-sided defeat by the Wallabies.

The Newcastle man went down in a crumpled heap after making a forthright tackle on David Campese, who later embellished his last representative appearance in England with a popular try.

The Barbarians' failure to score until the final quarter, when Australia had already built up a 39-0 lead, raised serious questions about this traditional end-of-tour fixture against an invitation side that met only 48 hours before kick-off. No one could fault the Baa-Baas for courage and enthusiasm but those qualities were never sufficient to give the pragmatic, pacy Wallabies a run for their money.

Matt Burke, the most impressive player on a tour that has yielded 12 wins from 12 games, underlined his burgeoning talent with 24 points from two tries, two penalty goals and four conversions. The New South Wales full-back set a cracking pace from the outset, tormenting the overworked Baa-Baas' defence with sinewy running and deft passes that frequently created attacking options for team-mates on his shoulder. It was a bench-mark performance by a player who seems destined for greatness.

But it remains to be seen whether Saturday's attendance of 65,000 will be repeated at future Barbarians meetings with touring sides eager to improve their match statistics. The listless mood that enveloped the crowd before half-time as the Wallabies notched up 27 points with crisp authority persisted until Alan Bateman and Scott Quinnell relieved the gloom a little with a try apiece to give the hosts credibility.

Just as they had done against Wales, Australia dominated the line-out thanks to the shrewd athletic work of Gavin, Giffin and Brial. Their technical superiority in this crucial area left the All Black Ian Jones and the Quinnell brothers in a state of confusion that quickly spread through the side and destroyed any prospects of a comeback.

"We had reasonable hopes of competing but we made elementary mistakes and got punished," admitted Rob Andrew, the Barbarians captain and fly-half. "The Australians are very strong up front, very strong at taking the ball forward and recycling it. We have talented players in the northern hemisphere but we're still trying to catch up with the southern hemisphere because we don't have the right sort of pyramid structures needed for development. I think it will be very sad if the Barbarians were lost to top international rugby. I really enjoyed the game even though we were mostly going backwards."

Surprisingly the Wallabies have come in for strong criticism back home because they have not reproduced the uninhibited running and high scores of some of their distinguished predecessors. Yet within a month they achieved four Test wins with something to spare and effectively subdued strong provincial sides. Their unbeaten run was all the more laudable in view of the absence of two world-class forwards, Eales and Waugh, due to injury.

Notwithstanding the Baa-Baas' mediocre performance, Campese remains a committed fan of their ball-in-hand style of play. "I like Barbarians rugby and they should stay in the professional era," insisted the man who has been linked with several Courage League clubs in recent months. Whether Campese will sever his commercial and media ties with Australia must be open to question. As he pointed out: "Business is the thing that holds me back there."

Sadly the Leicester forwards Back and Garforth did not have a suitable platform on which to relaunch their international claims. The hungry Wallabies ensured the Baa-Baas played most of the game without the ball, so that tackling and chasing were always top of the agenda.

Excellent tries by the Australian three-quarters Roff and Horan emphasised the rich vein of versatility throughout the side — but the margin could have been greater had the tourists not taken their foot off the accelerator in the closing stages.

Roff passage . . . The Australian wing's speed takes him past Walker and Underwood to score a try PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK BARON

Squash

Nicol wins classic final

Richard Jago in Bombay

PETER NICOL produced perhaps the finest performance of his career to retain the Mahindra International here on Saturday in the best match on the PSA tour in 1996.

The Scot beat the top seed Rodney Eyles 13-15, 15-10, 7-15, 17-15, 15-13 after a series of dramatic fluctuations during which Nicol looked on the way out at 10-4 in the fourth game and the Australian, despite cramp in his hand, clawed his way back from 5-1 and 13-10 down in the fifth before succumbing.

Nicol, the 23-year-old world No 3, earned much more than $16,000 for this tremendous 100-minute effort. He gave a performance of such tenacity and tactical acumen that it will have revived hopes that he can mount a challenge to Jansher Khan's supremacy.

He set out to deny Eyles's formidable high-paced attack by trying to take the initiative, using volley drops and boasts intelligently. At one stage, the favourite was within four points of victory when Nicol won a long rally with a forehand drive which took a nick.

After that Eyles began to labour. He saved three game points but by then Nicol was doing well in the increasing number of exchanges at the front of the court and was able to volley more often.

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

United they stand

BOTH the English teams involved in Europe last week reached the quarter-finals of their respective competitions, Newcastle United by defeating the French team Metz 2-0 at home to win 3-1 on aggregate in the Uefa Cup, and Manchester United overcoming Rapid Vienna by the same margin to qualify for the knock-out stage of the European Cup.

Faustino Asprilla has made something of a habit of scoring at St James' Park on European nights. He put himself on the score sheet against Halmstads in the first round, against Ferencvaros in the second, and the Colombian star was shining brightly again when he struck twice within a minute to send his side cruising into the last eight.

Asprilla sent the home fans wild with a close-range header on 80 minutes and then danced through the Metz defence for his second.

To celebrate the first goal the South American ripped off his shirt and hoisted it high on a corner flag, for which he received a yellow card. As it was his second bookable offence, he will miss the first leg of the next tie. Asprilla featured in the drama until the end when he was stretchered off two minutes from time with a hamstring injury.

The two Manchester United goals in Vienna came from Ryan Giggs and Eric Cantona, ensuring a quarter-final place in the premier European competition, the first by an English club for 11 years. Their next showdown will be against Porto in March, the first leg being played at Old Trafford.

Giggs opened the scoring in the 24th minute, and the Reds had numerous chances to increase their lead before the interval. Cantona sealed it for his team in the 71st minute when he stole in behind the Viennese defence to guide home a David Beckham cross.

MANCHESTER United, holders and nine-times winners of the FA Cup, will face eight-times winners Tottenham Hotspur in the plum tie from Monday night's draw.

The full draw is: Hednesford v York; Middlesbrough v Chester; Wrexham or Scunthorpe v West Ham; Luton v Bolton; Sheffield Wednesday v Grimsby; Manchester *Utd v Tottenham*; Stoke v Stockport; QPR v Huddersfield; Coventry v Woking; Notts County v Aston Villa; Reading v Southampton; Crystal Palace v Leeds; Everton v Swindon; Gillingham v Derby; Chelsea v West Brom; Carlisle v Tranmere; Brentford v Manchester City; Charlton v Newcastle; Blackburn v Port Vale; Crewe v Wimbledon; Norwich v Sheffield United; Liverpool v Walsall or Burnley; Leicester v Southend; Arsenal v Sunderland; *Watford v Oxford; Nottingham Forest* v Ipswich. The ties will be played on January 4-5.



Mansell . . . test in Spain

NIGEL MANSELL, Formula One world champion in 1992, was due to test one of Jordan-Peugeot's F1 cars at Barcelona's Circuit de Catalunya this week, fuelling speculation that the 43-year-old Englishman may be planning another comeback as partner to the team's other driver, 21-year-old Ralf Schumacher, in next year's world championship series. Elsewhere, Ligier have signed the Japanese driver Shinji Nakano, aged 25, to partner Olivier Panis of France, and Tyrrell have chosen Jos Verstappen, the 24-year-old Dutchman, to drive their new Ford V8-engined car alongside Mika Salo in 1997.

EMERSON Moises Costa, Middlesbrough's Brazilian star who has gone absent without leave three times, earned a new place in football's hall of infamy when it was revealed that he has been fined a total of £100,000 by the club. It is the most swingeing penalty levied on a player in Britain. Middlesbrough's chairman Steve Gibson said the fines on the player, who is believed to earn £16,000 a week, will continue if he does not toe the line.

ENGLAND cricketers scored the first victory of their tour of Zimbabwe when they beat Matabeleland by 59 runs in their one-day game at Bulawayo. The tourists made 210 for 9 in their 50 overs — Nick Knight was the top scorer with 58 — and dismissed the home side for 151 in 43.3 overs. Earlier, England went down by seven wickets to Mashonaland in a four-day match. It was Mashonaland's first victory over a touring side. Scores: England 197 and 180; Mashonaland 280 and 98 for 3.

In Australia, England A's winning run continued with a thrilling victory over New South Wales in Sydney, with just three balls to spare. Chasing a target of 244, the tourists slumped to 162-7 but Glen Chapple hit a quickfire 22 to steady the ship. Ashley Giles and Dean Headley then forged an unbroken 39-run partnership to win the match. Scores: New South Wales 243-6 in 50 overs; England A 244 for 8.

THE Premier League has announced a £36 million, four-year sponsorship deal with the brewing giant, Bass. The extension of the current agreement represents a 200 per cent increase on the initial £12 million contract which expires in the summer.

Football results

FA CUP Second round: Barnet 3, Wycombe 3; Blackpool 0, Hednesford 1; Bristol City 9, St Albans 2; Cambridge 0, Woking 2; Cardiff 0, Gillingham 2; Carlisle 1, *Darlington 0; Chesterfield 2, Scarborough 0;* Chester 1, Boston 0; Enfield 1, Peterborough 1; Hull 1, Crewe 5; Leyton Orient 1, Stevenage 2; Luton 2, Boreham Wood 1; Mansfield 0, Stockport 3; Notts Co 3, Rochdale 1; Preston 2, York 3; Sudbury 1, Brentford 3; Walsall 1, Burnley 1; Watford 5, Ashford Town 0; Wrexham 2, Scunthorpe 2.

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP Arsenal 2, Derby County 2; Chelsea 2, Everton 2; Coventry 1, Tottenham 2; Leicester 1, Blackburn 1; Liverpool 0, Sheffield Wed 1; Middlesbrough 0, Leeds 0; Nottingham Forest 0, Newcastle 0; Southampton 0, Aston Villa 1; Sunderland 1, Wimbledon 3; West Ham 2, Manchester Utd 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Arsenal (played 17, points 35); 2, Wimbledon (16-31); 3, Liverpool (16-31).

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE First Division Barnsley 3, Southend 0; Birmingham 0, Grimsby 0; Charlton 2, Swindon 0; Crystal Palace 2, Oxford 2; Huddersfield 2, Norwich 0; Ipswich 0, Wolves 0; Manchester City 3, Bradford 2; Oldham 0, QPR 2; Reading 0, Port Vale 1; Sheffield Utd 1, Portsmouth 0; Stoke 2, Tranmere 0; West Brom 2, Bolton 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Bolton (22-42); 2, Sheffield Utd (21-39); 3, Barnsley (21-38).

TENNENTS SCOTTISH CUP First round: Albion P, Forfar P; Alloa 3, Harwick 1; Elgin City 0, Whitehill Wel 3; Huntley P, Clyde P.

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE Premier Division: Dunfermline 2, Aberdeen 3; Hearts 0, Raith 0; Kilmarnock 0, Dundee Utd 2; Motherwell 2, Celtic 1; Rangers 4, Hibernian 3. **Leading positions:** 1, Rangers (14-35); 2, Celtic (14-27); 3, Aberdeen (15-25).

First Division: Airdrie P, Clydebank P; Dundee 2, Falkirk 0; East Fife P, Partick P; Morton 0, St Johnston 2; Stirling Albion P, St Mirren P. **Leading positions:** 1, St Johnston (17-38); 2, Falkirk (17-29); 3, Airdrie (16-26).

Second Division: Livingston 2, Stenhousemuir 1; Stranraer 0, Brechin 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Ayr (16-35); 2, Livingston (16-34); 3, Hamilton (16-31).

Third Division: Ross County 4, Montrose 4. **Leading positions:** 1, Montrose (17-30); 2, Inverness (16-29); 3, Ross County (17-27).

